

THE DAWN
OF A
NEW PATRIOTISM

HUNT

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W. A. J. H.

THE DAWN OF A NEW PATRIOTISM

A TRAINING COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP

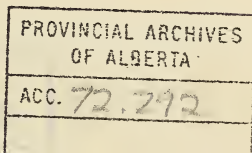
BY
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CLERK OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, ALBERTA

SECOND EDITION. REVISED AND ENLARGED

*"Happy the district blessed
with a few liberal minds
and a few good hearts. One
such citizen will advance
an entire community"*

TORONTO : THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA,
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PREFACE

Democracy requires that the people exercise supreme control over the government, Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament being simply agents of the people and at all times accountable to them. Universal suffrage requires that the average citizen be an active, instructed, intelligent ruler of his country. The success of democracy depends upon the education of the people along two principal lines, (1) political knowledge, and (2) what is of far more importance, political morality. Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot. The ultimate security for democracy lies in a community conscience, which recognizes that there is a law of right and wrong which is not man made, which is as independent of human wills as is the law of gravitation.

When, through lack of political knowledge or political morality, citizens fail to realize their responsibilities, when they lose the inspiration that comes from faith in a "higher law", which neither legislatures nor courts can either justly or safely set aside, then the very foundation of political liberty is swept away and democracy becomes a mockery, while a plutocratic oligarchy grasps the reigns of power and the servants of the people become their masters. It is not the form of government that makes people free. It is better to have the worst

form of government with righteousness in the rulers and character in the people than the best form of government with grafters for rulers and the people indifferent to moral principles.

The present generation has not heretofore made the "sovereignty of the people" such a dominant power in the conduct of public affairs as successful democracy requires. Prosperity, opportunity, and selfishness enticed the people into the broad, speculative highways that were supposed to lead to private wealth, and in the mad rush to get rich, public duties were in many instances neglected or improperly performed, while the community conscience was lulled into quiescence under the soothing influence of easy money, comfort, and pleasure.

Conditions have changed. A terrible price has been and is being paid in life, suffering, and sacrifice for the awakening. But the nation is awake—awake not only to the dangers threatening our free institutions of government from abroad, but also to the equally grave dangers threatening them at home, from the neglect of the citizens to fulfil their public duties. Thousands of our best men have gone to fight the enemy at the front, and it is the imperative duty of those who remain to meet the dangers at home. Everyone will admit that it is necessary for the soldier to be trained to meet the enemies of his country on the battle-field; none can deny that the citizens should be trained to meet the enemies of democracy in the battle for good government and honest administration.

It is acknowledged that the chief safeguard of democracy is universal education, and education in its final analysis is only thought,—every man and woman is either self-educated or never educated at all. All education by the state has for its primary object the making of good citizens, but for some time past there has been a growing demand for a special study of those subjects that relate directly and particularly to government and the duties of citizenship—in other words, that citizens should be taught to think about their duties and responsibilities.

Politics is the science and art of government, the study of the nation, its life and conduct. Citizenship is a reasoned exposition—not too difficult for even young minds to grasp—of the system of government under which we live and of those institutions which are a part of our national life. Good citizenship is the fulfilment in the practical affairs of every day life of one's duty to his neighbour and to the state. There is no reason why pupils in our schools should not be taught the general principles that underlie the public problems which they will have to face later on in life.

The student of politics will soon learn that the only firm foundation for the science rests on history; in fact the chief purpose of the study of history is to learn, not the names of kings and the dates of battles, but the origin, progress, life, and decay of nations, and the motives, means, and processes by which the people of the present age have built up a system of popular government and conducted public

affairs in the interest of the nation as a whole, while giving to each citizen the greatest possible freedom for individual development.

While this book is adapted for use in our public schools and colleges, it is also intended for the instruction and inspiration of the men and women who are now in possession of the franchise. The cultivation of good citizenship provides common meeting ground for all sections of the community.

One of the greatest drawbacks to country life is the lack of community organizations. How to make good use of the long winter evenings, how to get all the people of a district united, how to combine entertainment and instruction so as to induce everyone to take more interest in local and general public affairs; how to make the community an attractive place to live in, how to develop harmony, comfort, and good fellowship out of local resources and material, and to arouse the community conscience and keep it active, are problems, the solution of which have an important bearing on the future of the country. While outside assistance and instruction are valuable and should be made use of where available, the best method of advancing the interest of a community is for its members to co-operate and organize for the development of local talent and the advancement of local interests. If there is in existence in the community a suitable organization such as a Canadian Club, a Literary Society, a Citizens' Club, a Homemakers' Club, or a Local Union of the Farmers, advantage may be taken of such organization to introduce this book as the basis for a series of

studies, discussions, and entertainments. The material is varied enough to meet the requirements of beginners as well as of the most advanced students of real history.

If there is no suitable organization in the district, some liberal-minded citizen can easily secure the use of a school house, hall, church, or room to meet in, and post up notices calling a meeting of all the people of the district at a designated time and place to organize a local society for the mutual benefit of its members. When the time arrives to open the meeting, the person who has issued the notices might start the proceedings by saying, "I move that Mr. _____ be made chairman", and when this motion is seconded he puts the question to the meeting by saying, "Those in favour please raise the right hand". When all these have voted he says, "Those opposed please raise the right hand". Usually there will be no opposition and he declares Mr. _____ elected, and the newly appointed chairman then assumes the chair and puts all future questions. A secretary is elected in a similar manner, and the meeting is ready to discuss organization. The chairman then states the object of the meeting, or calls upon someone else to do so. After getting the views of those present, someone moves "that we now proceed to organize a literary or debating, or mutual improvement society, or a social club, or a community league", designating same by the name of the local post office or district. If this motion is seconded, the chairman puts the motion in the usual way, and if voted for by the majority, de-

clares the motion carried. It is then usual to appoint a committee to form a Constitution and By-Laws, which, when presented, is discussed article by article, amended so far as the meeting may desire, and adopted. Those wishing to become members sign the Constitution, pay their dues if any required, and the meeting then becomes a Society. If desirable, the officers provided for by the Constitution may be elected at once, only those who become members voting, and when the election is complete the organization is duly launched and ready for business. As much as possible should be done at this meeting in the way of preparing a programme for the first regular meeting and in securing participants, in order that the ardour of the Society may not be chilled by delay. The following is a simple form for a Constitution, which may be changed or added to at the pleasure of the Society:—

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

Name—This organization shall be known as the
 _____ Literary Society (or other name
 chosen).

ARTICLE II

Object—The object of this Society shall be the general improvement of its members and the advancement of the interests of the community.

ARTICLE III

Motto—The Motto of this Society shall be _____
 _____ (Every Society should have a motto, and should en-

deavour to make its sentiment an influence in the community) and the Society colours shall be —————

ARTICLE IV

Membership—Any person of good character may become a member of this Society by signing the Constitution and paying the quarterly fee.

ARTICLE V

Officers—The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer, all of whom shall also be members of the Executive, and an Executive Committee of three members. They shall be elected by open nomination and ballot and shall serve for three months, or until their successors are appointed. The President shall preside at all meetings, preserve order, introduce those who are to take part in the programme, and see that all the other officers perform the duties assigned to them. The Vice-President shall perform these duties in the absence of the President. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to call the roll at the various sessions of the Society, to keep the minutes, to take charge of the correspondence, to see that the programme of each open session is properly advertised, to collect all dues, to take charge of all monies belonging to the Society, to keep a debit and credit account of same, and to pay all accounts when approved by the Executive Committee. The Executive

PREFACE

Committee, of which three shall form a quorum, shall prepare the programme for the regular and public meetings, assign those to take part, pass upon accounts, audit the books of the Secretary-Treasurer, and generally act for the Society in all incidental matters.

ARTICLE VI

Amendments—This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended by a majority vote, notices of such amendment having been given in writing at the preceding meeting.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

Meetings—Meetings shall be held as follows : regular meetings on Friday of each week, regular business meetings on the last Friday of each month. Quarterly meetings on the last Friday of each quarter shall be held for the hearing of reports and for the election of officers. Open public meetings shall be held as arranged for by the Executive.

ARTICLE II

Fees—Fees shall consist of _____ per quarter.

ARTICLE III

Expulsions—Any member may be expelled for cause by a two-third vote of the members present, but a motion to expel shall always lie over to the meeting following that at which it is offered.

ARTICLE IV

Order of business—Public and Regular Meetings.

1. Roll Call.
2. Programme.
3. Adjournment.

Business Meetings and Quarterly Meetings—

1. Roll Call.
2. Reading and disposition of Minutes.
3. Report of the Executive Committee on Programmes.
4. Reports of Committees and of Secretary-Treasurer.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business.
7. Election of Officers.
8. Adjournment.

Where the Society consists largely of young people, or it is deemed desirable to emphasize patriotism, an appropriate opening for the meetings of the Society would be for all the members, immediately after Roll Call, to rise, salute the national flag, and repeat in unison:—

“I give my heart, my head, my hand
To God, my home, and this fair land.”

It is, of course, unnecessary to say that the meetings should always close with the singing of the National Anthem.

The first meeting might be devoted to having each member mention something about the town, village, or district as worthy of note. This stock-taking of the community might include its resources, soil, water, timber, fuel, advantages as to location, scen-

ery, healthfulness, railway transportation, roads, value of land, unoccupied lands, rate of taxation, growth of settlement, crop returns, weeds, hail, frost, drought, comparison with other districts as to good farming, good stock, good homes and enterprising people, stores, schools, churches, and social life, including harmony and good fellowship among the people, the kind of books, magazines, and papers read, the forms of entertainment patronized, and the facilities afforded for improvement. A survey of the talent and material that the Society offers, together with a fair idea of the intellectual standing of the members, forms an excellent basis upon which to start a successful course of study and entertainment. The starting point must be made within the limits of the members' present knowledge. It is better to have a successful discussion on how to cure and smoke pork, to build a good stack of grain, or to preserve wild fruit, than a failure on the Social Contract. There are many simple, familiar subjects that may be made use of in getting the Society started, and discussion of these topics will give the members confidence and facility in expressing their opinions and ideas in public.

A great deal of the success of the Society will depend upon the judgment of the Committee in selecting material suitable to the capacity of those taking part and the energy of the leader in arousing and keeping up the enthusiasm of the members. The best presiding officer is one who does little talking himself, but who has the faculty of getting others to take an active part in the proceedings of the Society.

Everyone has a partiality for and can talk on some subject, and the wise leader will take advantage of this in the drafting of programmes. Then, too, there is always something to be learned from hearing a specialist talk on his favourite subject. It may be found advisable in some instances to hold very informal meetings at first, taking up some topic for conversation much as it would be discussed around the fireside, each member keeping his seat and giving his views as he would do in ordinary intercourse in the home. The leader, by careful direction and inquiry, will be able to get everyone to take some part in the conversation. A portion only of the evening should be spent in the text-book study, and the remainder devoted to music, short addresses, recitations, games, and other forms of social entertainment.

Chapters I to VIII are very important from the standpoint of education for citizenship, and considerable time may be spent with advantage in going into each chapter thoroughly. In some Societies the reading may be done at home, and the time of the meeting devoted to discussion and questions. In others it may be found advisable to take a chapter paragraph by paragraph, the leader or members reading aloud, and all joining in the discussion until the subject matter has been fully mastered. The questions given are framed with a design to bring out the leading ideas in each chapter for discussion. The subjects given for debate and the outlines of addresses may be used as topics for discussion in the first instance, if the members are not sufficiently ad-

vanced to use them in the regular way. After a few meetings each study should be opened with a short test and review of the work already gone over, using progressively the Review Schedule given at the close of Chapter IX on a blackboard or on a large sheet of paper, and the last few minutes of the session should be devoted to a lively drill on the evening's work, so as to get the facts firmly fixed in the minds of the members.

The truths contained in the chapters on the duties and responsibilities of citizenship should be brought home to the individual members. Each citizen must do his bit personally and not leave it to others. If each devotes as much time and study to his public business as he does to any single one of his pleasures, if each insists on purity in elections and honesty in the conduct of public affairs, if each puts his country first, if each fights what is wrong wherever he sees it, then there will be good government, for the government will represent the best that is in the people.

Chapters X and XI contain enough of Ancient History to give the members of the Society a general idea of the high state of civilization reached by the Spartans, Athenians, and Romans, and of the influence these nations have had on the history of the modern world. It is hoped that lovers of history and of patriotic citizenship will be sufficiently interested to look up in some of the larger Ancient Histories the lives of the great heathen statesmen and to compare their ideals with those of the public men of the present day.

Chapters XII to XVIII give in condensed form the story of the origin and development of the power of the people in England. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the rights and liberties that we look upon as our natural heritage were secured only after years of conflict, and that if, through ignorance or neglect on our part, these boons are lost, it will take years to regain them. Freedom is not guaranteed to us. Every generation must fight for it, and every individual must win it for himself, and it is in the struggle that good citizenship is developed.

The extracts from great authors and from speeches of great men are valuable, (1) from a historical standpoint, (2) from a literary standpoint, (3) as indicating the style of expression of the great men of the times, (4) as illustrations of how the gist of an article or speech may be found in a few sentences, (5) in giving the reader an idea of the personality of the writer or speaker, and (6) as incentives to further research and study. While the following of all these lines cannot fail to be interesting, care must be taken by the leader to keep steadily in mind the main object of the study—the training for citizenship. The selections from standard novels bear directly on the history of the various periods and aid in giving the student a realistic mental picture of the times. Members should be urged to read the books quoted from and to note for discussion the important passages. A good method is for each member to mark what strikes him as of sufficient importance to be brought

before the meeting and to enter the page where it is to be found on the inside of the front cover. Items of interest from magazines and newspapers may be cut out and, after discussion, pasted in the Society's Scrap Book for future reference. Where possible home reading courses should be instituted, and the books selected from the list covering the important periods of the history of England.

The Appendix will be found useful for reviews and for outlines for addresses.

The general subjects for debate have been selected with a view to having them interesting, up-to-date, thought-compelling, and not too difficult. The historical allusions and topics for conversation open up a wide field for research and discussion.

This book is a compilation and arrangement only, and no claim is made to originality of thought or expression. The writer is responsible for the design of the quilt, but the pieces are the accumulation of years, selected from many and varied sources as material adapted for use in the education of citizens.

J. D. H.

Newland House, Edmonton, Alta.,

March 25th, 1917.

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It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters unwithstood",
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost forever. In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old;
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

—*Wordsworth.*

THE DAWN OF A NEW PATRIOTISM

CHAPTER I

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

Everywhere in human society two principles have been and are at work, principles antagonistic to each other, yet equally essential to the well-being of civil society. These are the principle of obedience and the principle of independence—the submission of the individual will to other wills and the assertion of that will against other wills. The former principle carried to excess gives despotism; the latter carried to excess ends in anarchy. The reasonable mean between, or an adjustment to one another of these two principles, creates what we call free or popular government, or democracy, in which a relatively large number of individual wills agree to form a collective will of the community and to obey that will cheerfully, because each individual has consented to come in and has had a part in forming it.

Locke says, “Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the power of another without his

own consent. The only way whereby anyone divests himself of his natural liberty and puts on the bonds of civil society is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community". The essence of this association is delegation and not surrender. The citizen confers power without abandoning his right to control the use of it. The principles of democracy are forcibly and clearly stated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." These principles are still more developed in the following: "All men are born equally free and independent, therefore all government of right originates from the people. All power residing originally in and being derived from the people, all the officers of government are their agents and at all times accountable to them."

Democracy, then, is a government in which every man, by virtue of his manhood alone, has an equal voice in the common affairs of the common country. It is a form of government in which the people are supreme—according to Lincoln's definition, a government of the people, by the people, for the people. The basis of democracy is the recognition of the rights of men as men, of the equality of all men before the law, without regard to birth, property, or rank, of the right of all citizens to security of

life, sustenance, property, happiness, liberty to develop, and an equal voice or vote in public affairs or in the selection of representatives to conduct such affairs.

Democracy does not mean that all men are equal in every respect. Much confusion may be caused in men's minds by not distinguishing between political democracy and social democracy of sentiment and manners. The principle of the legal and political equality of men is not inconsistent with the utmost variety of natural and social distinctions. The example of England goes to show that democratic political institutions are compatible with great inequalities in natural ability, manners, education, style of living, social consideration, and distribution of property. But political democracy stands for the abolition of those institutions which give constitutional permanence to classes and is unalterably opposed to the creation by law of artificial barriers or distinctions among the people in either the social, political, or industrial world.

True democracy also stands for economic freedom—the duty of the state to preserve an economic condition that will afford opportunity to every honest and willing worker to gain a fair and equitable living. The distinctive features of modern democracy are the greatest personal freedom, by which each man has the liberty and responsibility of shaping his own career, the widest powers of self-government in purely local affairs, equality before the law, and the fullest political power in the form of universal suffrage exercised through the representative

system. With these is associated universal education, which is recognized as the most powerful agent in the perfectibility of society.

The fact that democracy has attained much higher growth in Britain than in the nations on the continent is largely owing to her innate love of freedom, fostered by the unconquered spirit of the Anglo-Saxon, and her favourable insular position. Britain was developing her nationality while the European nations were fighting for boundaries. British institutions were drifting towards democracy and the freedom of the individual, while on the continent personal rights and liberty were being sacrificed on the altar of national existence, and the necessity for standing armies was producing a military and automatic discipline, which engendered a spirit that bowed readily to authority and submerged the individual will in that of the state.

Perhaps nowhere has Britain shown her high ideals of democracy more than in her colonial policy and in her defence of Belgium's guaranteed rights. Aside from her fatal mistake in dealing with the Thirteen Colonies, she has granted self-government to the colonies, and in doing this has given them their vast resources, often purchased at the cost of much blood and treasure. She has long since abandoned the European theory that a colony exists for the exclusive benefit of the motherland, and has given her colonies freedom to trade, not only in her own ports, but also wherever commerce can be found; and in addition to granting such freedom to her colonies she has protected them in that free-

dom by her powerful navy. In defending the cause of Belgium, Britain is proving to the world that she is just, and that public right must be held as the common and precious inheritance of all nations, whether they be strong or weak.

The growth of democracy goes hand-in-hand with the general growth of the nation. For example, the rise of democracy could be paralleled by the improvements in the art of printing. The development of democracy has created the demand for cheap literature and newspapers. At the same time cheap literature and newspapers have done much to advance democracy. Further, the production of cheap literature depends to a great extent on industrial development—on man's mastery over nature. To produce a great modern newspaper at a low price requires the application of a thousand modern, technical appliances. Steam and electricity are the great forces that move the vast mechanism on which society is based. In fact, the growth of democracy is closely associated with the industrial development which has brought about the railway, the penny post, the telegraph, the telephone, the wireless, and the power printing-press, and its success in the future depends largely upon its solution of industrial and economic problems.

1. Name two principles that are always at work on human society, and define each. 2. Distinguish between duties and rights. 3. Why do so many people neglect their duties, but nevertheless insist upon their rights? 4. Mention some of the reciprocal duties and rights of children and parents, scholars and teachers, minorities and majorities, electors and representatives, citizens and government.

5. Define despotism and anarchy, and show how these may exist in the home, the school, or the neighbourhood, as well as in the nation. 6. Explain how a proper adjustment of duties and rights—of obedience and independence—will produce a happy home, a progressive school, and a prosperous community. 7. When there is a proper adjustment of the rights and duties of society with the rights and duties of individuals, what do we call the resultant government? 8. Discuss every man's equal claim to the following rights: (1) Equality before the law; (2) security of life; (3) a chance to earn a livelihood; (4) protection for his property; (5) the pursuit of happiness; (6) the greatest personal freedom consistent with the freedom of others. 9. Are men in Canada always equal before the law? 10. Why should the state provide every honest and willing man with an opportunity to earn a living for himself and family? 11. What limits a man in his use of personal freedom? 12. On what principle can prohibition of liquor be defended? 13. If all the people met and transacted public business, as was done in the town-meetings of New England, what name would be given to the government? 14. Why do we not practise direct democracy in Canada? 15. Define representative democracy. 16. From whence does a democracy derive its power? 17. Show how the people, by electing a school trustee, a councillor, or a Member of the Legislature, do not give up their power, but simply delegate it to their agent. 18. What is meant by natural liberty, civil liberty? 19. When, how, and why does a man put on the bonds of civil society? 20. Explain the doctrine of "the consent of the governed". 21. Why is government necessary to the existence of society? 22. Mention some of the duties of all citizens in a democracy. 23. Discuss the sayings, "This is a free country and everyone can do as he likes", "In a free country one person is as good as another". 24. Why should local affairs be dealt with by the local people? 25. What causes led to the high development of democracy in England? 26. Give examples of the high ideals of British democracy. 27. Compare the rise of democracy with the improvement in the art of printing. 28. Have we greater men in Canada now than England had one hundred years ago? 29. Why

is universal education always associated with democracy? 30. What are some of the dangers of universal suffrage without education? 31. How has the growth of democracy been influenced by physical boundaries? 32. Discuss, "Under a despotic government the people have no rights—only duties". 33. Show how the development of society and industry present new problems for democracy to solve.

FOR DISCUSSION

(1). "In the scientific control of industry, in the general business of life, it is the exceptional man that makes the world move onward. Is it the object of democracy to render the influence of such a man inoperative in the sphere of political government? The doctrine that the right of each citizen to 'an equal voice', or to one vote, and only one, 'in the government of the common country' is a right which belongs to him 'in virtue of his manhood alone' appears to imply this, and also that the qualifications of voters are determined by equal residual characteristics of the lowest common denominator, such as—twenty-one years of age, British subject, residence of one year in the country, and three months in the constituency, etc. While there are great differences among men in their units of influence in the various walks of life, the ordinary man represents common honesty, common sense, common, neighbourly good-will, and the common family affections. Even the most towering genius, in respect of his household conduct, must reason, feel, and comport himself like nine men out of every ten, or else there would be no dealing with him. Democracy, then, is a government determined by

the general will of what Whitman calls 'the divine average' of the people. The general will is the sum of the judgment of the units of the average mass. The judgment of each unit should be represented by a single vote, and such judgment as so represented should be freely formed by the individual, and not for governmental purposes be warped into conformity with the judgment of any other person or group of persons, either by bribery, intimidation, or other device of any kind.

"This last point deserves special attention, for if large numbers of men, though their votes are recorded by themselves, are really expressing by them the dictated judgments of others, these others will have not only their own votes, but also will have, to all intents and purposes, an indefinite number added to them, and the basic principle of pure democracy will be destroyed. That such is the case, when judgments which votes express are changed from what they otherwise would be by brutal and direct bribery, is a fact on which Democrats themselves are the first persons to insist. But results essentially similar are producible by other methods. An Iago might revenge himself on a faithful Desdemona, who had repulsed him, by the simple process of bribing an assassin to murder her. But he might compass the same end by persuading an Othello that she was faithless, and thus inciting the husband to do the deed on his own account. What money would do in the first case, statement would do in the latter. It would enable one man to determine the conduct of

a second, or, to put the matter in terms of political life, to transfer the control of the second man's vote to himself, and in political life, under a system of universal suffrage, the promulgation of false statements, which are made with the deliberate object of swaying the judgment in some special direction, is one of the most powerful means by which one man may master the votes of many, and virtually multiply his own. This is not true, it must be noted, of the publication of bare facts, but is true whenever, with a view to the effect of it on the public mind, news is coloured by men to suit themselves. Inconvenient electors in the days of *Pickwick* were kept from the polling booth, and so deprived of their votes by 'hocussing' their whiskey and leaving them drunk in a barn. Hocussing the facts is a method of the same character, and, in proportion to its success, is no less compatible with the principles of true democracy."

1. Does the fact that an exceptional man has only one vote prevent him from using his influence to secure the votes of others? 2. What is meant by "the divine average"? 3. Define "general will". 4. Why should each unit of judgment be formed freely? 5. Show how undue influence of any kind upon a voter destroys the basic principle of democracy. 6. Mention one legitimate way of getting men to turn their votes. 7. Mention a dozen corrupt methods of getting men to turn their votes. 8. What use is made of "false statements" in election campaigns? 9. Define "hocussing the facts".

(2). "Democracy has won emancipation. Has it not emancipated slaves, artisans, peasants, women? But emancipation is not freedom. It is but a step towards it; for, whereas emancipation may come at

a stroke, freedom has to be earned by all. Only those can win it who can prove that they deserve it. Nor will it ever come, because in truth it cannot come, in reality and substance, till the mere escape from thralldom, much as it is, has been followed up by the positive and satisfying fruition of what the life of liberty has to give. As with emancipation, so with rights. The possession of rights is not freedom, for actual freedom is found only in that satisfying fulfilment of civic duties to which rights, however precious, are but the vestibule.”

1. Does the granting of the franchise to woman make her free? 2. Distinguish between emancipation and freedom. 3. Now that woman has the franchise, what must she do to win freedom? 4. Women have been given the franchise in some of the Provinces of Canada on the assumption that they can enter into the common life and contribute to the common will by a genuine interest in public affairs. If women, by their conduct, do not justify the assumption, what will be the result in Provinces where the franchise has been granted? Where not granted? 5. Explain how rights are but the vestibule of freedom.

(3). “Two different views may be taken of the relation between rulers and their subjects. If the ruler is regarded as the superior of the subject, as being, by nature of his position, presumably wise and good, the rightful ruler and guide of the whole population, it must necessarily follow that it is wrong to censure him openly, and even if he is mistaken, his mistakes should be pointed out with the utmost respect, and, whether mistaken or not, no censure should be cast on him likely or designed to diminish his authority.

“If, on the other hand, the ruler is regarded as the

agent and servant, and the subject as the wise and good master who is obliged to delegate his power to the so-called ruler, because, being a multitude, he cannot use it himself, it must be evident that this sentiment must be reversed. Every member of the public who censures the ruler for the time being exercises in his own person the right which belongs to the whole, of which he forms a part. He is finding fault with his own servant. Democracy is inverted monarchy.”

1. Give two different views of the relations between rulers and subjects. 2. Explain how “democracy is inverted monarchy”.

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that modern civilization is a failure.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. It has produced and fostered a cruel, calculating selfishness.
2. Civilization encourages artificiality of life, hypocrisy, inequality, tyranny, and misery.
3. It saps the basis of morality and manliness by giving rise to effeminacy, luxury, and artificial vice.
4. Nothing can save society except a return to a simpler life.
5. The apparent improvement in society brought about by civilization is merely in external matters, while the spirit of society is degenerating.
6. Civilization has produced the greatest war the world has ever known, with atrocities and cruelties of a most refined nature.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. Civilization has an irresistible tendency to refine men, beginning with the upper classes and spreading to the lower.
2. It increases the severity of the struggle for existence, and so calls forth the full faculties of an increasing number of men, to the benefit of the whole race.
3. We have only to compare the state of society to-day with what it used to be, and we cannot fail to see progress. The state of medicine proves this in regard to the body, of education in relation to the mind, and the state of public opinion in relation to morals.
4. As civilization increases, fewer and fewer people live in idleness, with the result that the whole character of life is raised.
5. As long as men have faith and hope, progress is possible.
6. True freedom is found only in the voluntary submission of one's own interest for the general good—a freedom for which civilization brings the opportunity.
7. Practically all the great humanitarian movements were born in the last century; scarce one is over one hundred and twenty-five years old. Organized charity, social settlements, temperance reform, anti-slavery reform, prison reform, Young Men's Christian Associations, foreign missions, home missions, city missions—all of them are part of the nineteenth century.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

CONVERSATION

1. No form of social intercourse furnishes so much enjoyment as pleasing and entertaining conversation.
2. Few people are capable of entertaining a company by continuous and intelligent discourse.
3. Unconnected remarks and repetition of expletives do not constitute elevating conversation.
4. Conversation is an art and is capable of cultivation by study, practice, and work.
5. Conversational skill leads to success in the higher forms of speech.
6. A natural, honest manner, distinct articulation, a full, pure tone of voice, not pitched too high, and simple, expressive language, when employed in conveying to others one's best thoughts, cannot fail to command attention.
7. The habit of listening to others should be cultivated. Attention to what others say is the relay from which one is enabled to continue the conversation.
8. An opinion is no better than the information upon which it is based. Therefore, one should always learn the facts before expressing an opinion.
9. Information may be acquired by experience and observation, from hearing lectures, addresses, and conversations, and from reading books, magazines, and papers.
10. The telling of an experience or of what one has

observed or heard or read tends to clearer thought on the subject, to the retention of the facts, and, what is equally important, to facility of expression.

11. Test the result of conversation on live, important subjects by selecting a topic for general conversation at the next meeting, giving each member an opportunity to look up the subject.

TOPICS FOR CONVERSATION

- (a) Consolidated rural schools.
- (b) Good roads.
- (c) Facts concerning the district.
- (d) A shelf of good books.
- (e) A social organization committee to arrange social events for the season.
- (f) What has this district worth advertising?
- (g) Better farmhouse conveniences.
- (h) The early history of the district by the old settlers.
- (i) Making use of local resources.
- (j) Must a man leave the farm to become a leader?

CHAPTER II

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP

The fundamental requirements of democracy are satisfied, if the people as a whole exercise supreme control over the government. But it is clear that the people at large cannot intelligently exercise control over affairs, unless they are thoroughly familiar with the principles upon which democracy rests, and unless they are kept informed of what the government is doing, and this can be done only through publicity and full freedom of discussion.

There was in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century a faith widespread among educated men that the government of the people by the people, was the chief and a sufficient remedy for the ills that had afflicted society. They assumed, and the modern apostles of popular government have generally assumed, that the mass of mankind, in at any rate what are called civilized countries, will be capable citizens, that is, that they will have sense enough to judge of public affairs, discernment enough to choose the right men for office, self-control enough to accept the decision of the majority, honesty enough to seek the general interest rather than try to secure their own at the expense of the community, public spirit enough to take trouble, or even face danger, for the good of the

community. When, in the course of events, it became painfully evident that the bulk of the people, at any given time, in any given country, might not, and, in fact, did not, possess these qualities, the idealist was not dismayed. His faith in the vivifying force of freedom made him hope all things and believe all things.

“The people”, so he used to argue, “may be more ignorant and apathetic than we foresaw. That is because they have not been heretofore trusted. Now that their destinies are being entrusted to their own hands their capacity will grow. Opportunity will soon evoke intelligence; power will bring responsibility and kindle zeal. Trust the people and they will quickly justify your trust.”

Under the light of liberty all the evils which misgovernment had produced in the past were to vanish. A reign of brotherhood and peace, an age of tranquility, prosperity, and assured order was to dawn upon the long-afflicted peoples. From 1830 to 1870, the general attitude of most of the powerful intellects and nearly all the finest characters among the thinkers and writers of Europe was a hopeful one, one expecting immense gains to human progress and human happiness from the establishment of free institutions. These expectations have been in so far realized that the condition of all the countries where such institutions now exist shows a marked improvement, not merely in the advance of science and the diffusion of comfort, but also in a juster and more humane legislation. Nobody denies that our world of to-day is a better world for the common man.

Few deny that this is largely due to better political institutions. Striking evidences of this general conviction are to be found in the revolution of March, 1917, in Russia, in the efforts which Japan has made, and which Persia and the Turks are beginning to make for the establishment of parliamentary institutions. Even in China these have been talked of.

Nevertheless, there has been disappointment. Freedom has done much for the European and American continents, yet far less than was expected. This is because the citizens have failed to respond to the demand for active virtue and intelligent public spirit, which free government makes and must make. Everywhere there is the same contrast between that which the theory of democracy requires and that which the practice of democracy reveals. Remember, for this is the kernel of the matter, that the theory of democracy assumes a far higher level of good sense, judgment, honest purpose, and devotion to the public welfare in the citizen of a free country than is either looked for or needed in the subject of a despotic monarchy or of an oligarchy. Thus the deficiencies which free governments show reduce themselves to the failure of the citizens to reach the needed standard of civic excellence.

Human nature, which may appear to have improved, and to be still improving, has not yet come anywhere near to reaching the Christian standard set forth in the New Testament. Neither has it yet shown itself quite good enough for the responsibilities which self-government imposes. In no European country is the average citizen what the citizen

in a democracy ought to be; and in Switzerland, the country where he seems to have attained the highest level, his superiority may be largely due to the comparative absence of the temptations which wealth brings.

Multitudes in every nation contribute nothing to its public opinion, never give a thought to public affairs, and have no wish to take any part in them. At election time they will vote as they are influenced by others. Some will be directly bribed or directly intimidated, and some will vote for a drink, or to win an office or a favour, or to avert the displeasure of someone more powerful than they. A poor, struggling man, called on to vote on a question of which he knows nothing and cares nothing, is likely to be influenced by low considerations.

Still more dangerous are those whose votes can be won by appeals to class cupidities. The demagogue will try to persuade them that by following his advice they will reap some monetary advantage. He will hold out hopes that, by voting as he suggests, some of the property of another class may be transferred to them. He will stir up class jealousies and antipathies, make the most of envy, covetousness, and prejudice. He will magnify every real grievance, revive every redressed grievance, encourage every imaginary grievance, and will turn the very freedom won by democracy against itself.

Even greater enemies to democracy are the extreme party voters. The prejudiced party man learns what he should think on political subjects from:

- (1) The party press—that may be paid to deceive him;
- (2) The rival candidates—who are interested and naturally biased;
- (3) Election pamphlets issued during the heat of a campaign, which are generally misleading and often false.

He must accept political instruction and adopt the opinions made for him, or he becomes an outcast from his organized party. Narrow party spirit is hostile to moral independence, and moral independence is the backbone of democracy. In proportion as a man absorbs party spirit, he sees, hears, and judges by the senses and understandings of his party, and surrenders the freedom of a man—the right of speaking and using his own mind—and he echoes the applause and the maledictions with which the leaders or interested, passionate partisans see fit that the country should ring. We have democracy in theory, but have we democracy in practice? It is an old saying that “they who pay the piper call the tune”. Do not those who finance elections dictate policies? It is not possible that the generous subscribers to the party funds are the actual rulers, and that in many so-called self-governing countries the Parliament is little more than the appendix to the organized commercial stomach?

Another class of real enemies to democracy is the hypocrites—political workers who loudly proclaim their faith in democracy, and who appear to give the people forms of self-government, while they cunningly contrive to take away the reality. These

hypocrites are called "bosses", and they are generally allied with the big interests, who subscribe the funds to elect a government that is the very opposite to democratic, in as much as it is bound to build up and perpetuate artificial barriers or distinctions, and make the classes rich at the expense of the masses who produce the country's wealth.

But if the influence of the "bosses" weakens the supreme power of the people, that of the men who employ them—the plutocrats, the big corporations and combinations that represent dishonesty on a gigantic scale—destroys that power entirely. The result is the more disastrous because, after donning the livery of democracy, these unscrupulous monopolists of a whole nation's rights do not hesitate to use the form, and very often the representatives of the people, to exploit the natural resources of the country, to control the great fields of industrial enterprise, finance, and speculation, and to build up for themselves immense fortunes by methods essentially fraudulent, while not interfering with the outward semblance of the government of the people, by the people, for the people. Democracy may thus be turned into quackocracy. The few on the inside run off with the nation's wealth and leave the masses to pay the cost of the highwaymen's democratic disguise.

How necessary it is, then, that even in old well-settled lands the people who love freedom should read and study and watch over their sacred institutions of democracy, that they may not be undermined by the subtle influence of the plutocrat or the

blatant arrogance of the demagogue, or the indifference of the ease-loving average citizen. If such be necessary in nations where the people are similar in nationality, education, sentiment, and language, how much more necessary it is in a new country, where settlers are scattered and lead isolated lives in which there are scanty opportunities for learning what passes, where there is the greatest diversity in customs and languages, and where the unaccustomed freedom of British institutions is liable to produce unfortunate results through the misuse of liberty as license. It is, then, not only advisable, but essential, that the settlers of the Western Provinces, and especially those from countries where democracy is unknown, should be taught the English language, the principles of British institutions, the rights and duties of citizenship, and the sacredness of the franchise. The liberty of the Canadian lies in his use of the ballot. Dynamite mishandled causes loss of life and property; democracy mishandled causes loss of individual and national liberty. The future of Canada rests on the development of citizenship. Full liberty demands right voting. The man who thinks little of his franchise is already a slave. The man who deals lightly with his ballot forges still heavier the chains of his own serfdom.

1. What is necessary if the people are to control the government? 2. Are the people of Western Canada familiar with the principles of democracy? 3. Can settlers from the despotisms of Europe be expected to grasp the principles of free government, without even knowing the English language? 4. We have government of the

people, but is it *by* the people, and *for* the people? 5. What did the optimist of a century ago expect of the masses of mankind under democracy? 6. What excuse did he give for their failure to realize expectations? 7. In what respects have the people advanced? 8. Account for the contrast between what the theory of democracy requires and that which the practice reveals. 9. Why is a high standard of citizenship required in a democracy? 10. Why does Swiss citizenship rank high? 11. Mention some of the different ways in which the standard of Canadian citizenship is debased. 12. Name some of the worst enemies of free government in Canada. 13. What special dangers have we in Western Canada? 14. Knowing the danger, what is the remedy, and by whom shall it be applied? 15. What are you doing in the matter, personally?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "There is a way of talking of democracy as if it has nothing to do but to give, as if political liberties are boons or gifts, and the democratic citizen a receiver of blessings which free institutions shower upon his head. It may not be entirely false, but only too often it disastrously hides the fact that under democratic institutions it is the citizen who gives most who gets most. Not in the whole circle of institutions, from the family onwards, is there one which will render up its benefits, except to the citizen who gives his best and his utmost to active civic service. It is so with the humblest political organization. Little it gives, and sometimes less than nothing, to its members, unless they strive for the cause for which it exists. So with a great municipality. It is not the passive citizen who gains most of what his city has to give, even when he is well governed and lightly taxed. It

is the men who play their part, the active citizens who widen and enrich their lives through interest and work in public causes. This holds throughout, from the service of a committee to that of an empire. It is active citizenship alone which reaps the harvest. Nor is it the *nation* that is most defrauded by the political indifference and private selfishness of those who are ready to take everything and give nothing in return. The nation can thrive without its drones. The certain losers are the men themselves, in whose narrow lives such private virtues as may come will but poorly compensate for the lack of civic courage, political integrity, public spirit, political comradeship, and patriotism. Shining, indeed, would the private virtues and graces of life need to be, if they were to be accepted in full as the equivalent of the many qualities which are born and bred only of active citizenship."

1. To secure the greatest blessings from democracy, what is required of the citizen? 2. Who gain most good from attention to public affairs? 3. If the citizen is indifferent or selfish, show how he is a greater loser than the nation. 4. Can a man who lacks civic courage, political integrity, public spirit, political comradeship, and patriotism, be called an all-round developed man? 5. Can any private virtues supply the lack of those born and bred of active citizenship?

(2) "To say, 'Nature, or God, gives me rights, and therefore it is your duty to respect them', is a strong statement, but it is neither so strong nor so much in harmony with facts as to say, 'Nature, or God, has given me the capacity for duty, and in order to get my duty done I claim my rights'. But it is not enough to claim rights. Anyone can do

that, and it does not better the claim one whit when it is made in the name of Nature, or God. What is needed is proof—proof that the claims are just and reasonable—and this proof can be found in the argument that, when any man is denied his rights, to that man the capacity to do his duty is frustrate and abortive, because without rights a human being lacks the opportunities which lie upon the very threshold of moral development and the dutiful life. It is not because the right to life, or to property, or to reputation, or to vote, or to any other right, civil or political, is an end in itself that a claim should be maintained, but because of what, through them, men may become or do. It is not in the origin of man—for that is lowly and brutish enough—but in his moral destiny, which is neither lowly nor brutish, that one finds the true justification of rights. Rights are not gifts, nor boons, nor possessions. They are simply opportunities or advantages or positions for the exercise of power, which the members of a community in the pursuit of a common good struggle to secure by the sanctions of law, in order that upon that assured standing-ground they may begin to fulfil those duties, and thereby to realize those ideals which are of the essence of man as a moral and religious being.”

1. Why should a man have his rights? 2. What results if a man is denied his rights? 3. Explain how rights have more value as a means than as an end. 4. What are rights?

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that every Municipal Council should have the power, subject to the vote of the electors,

to define what shall be a lawful fence within the municipality.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. It is a local question, and local electors are the best judges of what is required.
2. The fact that the people must settle the question causes an interest and discussion that is good not only for the question, but good for the people.
3. Stock and crop interests are bound to clash, and the people must learn to look at a question from all viewpoints.
4. In a large province what is good for one locality may not be good for another. Each unit should decide for itself.
5. The responsibility of having to decide the question causes investigation and thought, and develops the governing power of the mind, thus fitting it to grasp larger public questions.
6. The agitation over the question will bring out the qualities of the local men—generosity, broad-mindedness, and friendliness, as against selfishness, greed, and arrogance—and leaders for the future may thus be located.
7. Those who share misgovernment should have the power to correct it; those who share good government should have the power to continue it.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. There should be uniformity of laws throughout the province. Otherwise there is uncertainty, and uncertain law always produces trouble.

2. The Legislature can settle the question on general principles without considering whom the decision will aid or injure, whereas local opinion will be influenced by self-interest.
3. If the question is settled locally, the majority will sacrifice the interests of the minority for their own advantage.
4. If settled locally a lawful fence may be made so slight that it practically means that cattle cannot be let out, for fear of the bill for damages, if they invade a grain field surrounded by an inadequate lawful fence.
5. On the other hand, the lawful fence may be made of so high a grade that no average grain-grower has it, or can afford to build it, and his growing crop is devoured by breachy cattle, leaving him without redress.
6. Factions and parties are liable to be formed by the throwing of the question upon the people that tend to destroy the peace and harmony of the community.

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that a living wage for all should be fixed by legislation.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. Wages should be sufficient to enable every labourer to live in a manner consistent with the dignity of a human being. Anything short of this is a great moral wrong and a serious danger to the state.

2. It is true that so-called economic laws are said to be against artificially regulating the rates of wages, but such laws in effect only state that certain results will follow from certain sets of circumstances. The conditions precedent to these results can be changed by human effort.
3. Belief in the power of economic laws to prevent any lasting modification in rates of wages by human action is cherished and kept alive by those who have a direct interest in keeping wages low.
4. The fallacy of blindly following the teachings of economists in these matters is shown by the disastrous results of the policy of *laissez-faire* in the growth of factory systems; and the plea of impossibility is disposed of by the gain to industry as a whole, and not merely to labour, from the more enlightened policy embodied in the Factory Acts, and such legislation.
5. The law of increasing returns is applicable to labour. The better labourers are paid the more efficient do they become, and therefore cheaper in the long run. Economists recognize this, and so do the more enlightened of employers.
6. The strict economists who preached salvation by unlimited bargaining believed that this would produce a living wage. Since events have proved them in error, a modification of their doctrine is required.
7. The churches from earliest times have urged the justice of a living wage. Leo XIII wrote an encyclical in favour of the principle, and

many Protestant divines have urged it upon mankind.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. The scheme, like so many others based upon vague theories of the "rights of man", is impracticable. In the question of wages we are concerned with economics, and not with ethics. How is the figure to be arrived at? The cost of living varies continually from time to time and from place to place. A man's calling and the position he must keep up are other difficulties.
2. Men should be free to bargain as best they can in the case of human labour as in everything else, and only free bargaining can lead to just rates of wages being paid.
3. Interference with free bargaining is bad for the labourer, as well as for the employer, for if profits are diminished the rate at which capital is saved is diminished, and with it the power of production. Consequently the national dividend is decreased and all suffer alike. Capital also will emigrate.
4. If wages are artificially forced up, the price of the products of labour must rise, and since labour is the largest consumer, labour is the heaviest loser.
5. Experience shows that a forced minimum wage is very apt to be the maximum. Hence the competent worker is penalized for the benefit of the incompetent. Also, though employers may be compelled to pay no less than the mini-

mun, they cannot be compelled to employ, and old and infirm workers may be discharged.

6. Even if ethical arguments are admitted, the proper procedure is by moral suasion of unscrupulous employers by religious bodies, force of public opinion, etc., and not by Act of Parliament, which is far too inelastic for so delicate a subject.

TOPICS FOR CONVERSATION

- (a) An incident I witnessed.
- (b) Birds of the district.
- (c) Our last picnic.
- (d) The natural resources of the Province.
- (e) The rural home—the cleanest, the healthiest, the most comfortable, the most comforting place on earth—if not, why not?
- (f) How to make the farm woman's work easier.
- (g) What the selection of good seed means to the farmer.
- (h) How to make children pleasantly aware of the interests, beauties, realities, and satisfactions of farm life.
- (i) The old-time flower garden.
- (j) What I think of baseball.
- (k) The influence of money.
- (l) The advantages of getting elected to office by hand, rather than by a machine.
- (m) Rural mail delivery.
- (n) What is success in life?
- (o) The local Sunshine Bank—are you a depositor or a borrower?

CHAPTER III

THE CARELESS AVERAGE CITIZEN

If, taking any group of men, we strike off ten per cent. as exceptionally intelligent, and ten per cent. as exceptionally dull, and then try to find the description which is broadly or roughly true of the remaining eighty per cent., that will be a description of the Average Man. The question to be asked is, why does the average citizen fall short of the proper standard of civic duty? These deficiencies may be traced to three main causes. They are, Indolence, Personal Self-interest, and Party Spirit.

Men, even in their own affairs, waste more opportunities than they use. The spring of self-interest in the majority is not strong where public affairs are concerned, so that even less use is made of opportunities to serve the public. A duty shared with many others seems less of a personal duty. Still weaker does it become when one perceives the neglect of others to do their duty. The average man judges himself by the average standard, and does not see why he should take more trouble than his neighbours. The basic fault of democracy is contained in the adage, "What is everybody's business is nobody's business".

Manners have grown gentler and passions less angry. In former days indignation flamed higher,

and there was little tenderness for offenders. Jehu smote the prophets of Baal. Bad ministers—and, no doubt, good ministers, too—were beheaded on Tower Hill. Nowadays justice is often arrested by an indulgence which forgets that the true aim of punishment is the protection of the community.

The enormous growth of modern states has made the share in government of the individual citizen seem very small. The chance that his vote will make any difference to the result is so slender that it appears to the voter to be negligible.

The highest, because the most difficult, duty of a citizen is to fight valiantly for his convictions when he is in a minority. It is harder, the vaster the community becomes. It is more difficult to make one's voice heard against the roar of ocean than against the squall that sweeps over a mountain lake.

Scientific discovery, art, and athletic sports have reduced the interest in public affairs by absorbing the time and attention of many of those otherwise best qualified to discharge their duties as citizens.

Many neglect the duty of voting. In Athens the police dragged to the polls citizens who preferred to lounge or to mind what they called their own business—as if ruling the state was not their business. The number who vote does not perfectly measure the personal sense of duty among electors, because an efficient party organization may gather in voters who do not care, but who can be either driven to the polls or paid to go.

Another form of civic apathy is neglect to seek or to serve in office. It is frequently alleged that the

work of politics is disagreeable, that it brings a man into conflict with vulgar people, and exposes him to misrepresentation and abuse. If politics are anywhere vulgar they ought not to be allowed to remain vulgar, as they will remain if the better educated citizens keep aloof. The best element in a community cannot afford to let its interests be the sport of self-seekers and rogues. The loss by maladministration or robbery, large as it may sometimes be, is a less serious evil than is the damage to public morals. The deficient sense of civic duty noted in the form of neglect to vote is really more general and serious in the neglect to think. Were it possible to get statistics to show what percentage of those who vote reflect upon the vote they have to give, there would in no country be found a large percentage. How many voters really trouble themselves to get information about the question submitted for decision? It may be asked, how can the voters do it?—what means have they of studying public questions and reaching just conclusions? If the means are wanting, can we blame them if they do not think? Many have to labour for their daily bread; many are imperfectly educated; in the rural districts they read with difficulty, see either no newspaper or one that helps them but little.

Moreover, the mass of voters is swelled by a crowd of recent immigrants, most of whom cannot read English, and know nothing of our institutions. The average citizen has not the means of adequately discharging the functions which the constitution throws upon him of following, examining, and judg-

ing those problems of statesmanship which the ever-growing range of government administration and the ever-increasing complexity of our civilization set before him as a voter. The theory of universal suffrage assumes that the average citizen is an active, instructed, intelligent ruler of his country. The facts contradict this assumption, especially in Western Canada, with its foreign population from the despotisms of Europe. It is the duty of mutual help, the duty incumbent on those who possess, through their knowledge and intelligence, the capacity of instruction and persuasion, to advise and guide their less competent fellow-citizens.

How do the party workers advise and guide the foreign voters in Canada? No sensible man will hold that, under such conditions as large modern communities present, the bulk of the citizens can vote wisely from their own private knowledge and intelligence. While communities remained small, it was easy to get help. Public meetings do not give nearly all that the average man needs, not to add that being got together to present one set of facts and arguments and deliberately to ignore the other, they do not put him in a fair position to judge. Besides, the men who most need instruction are usually those who least come to meetings to receive it. The newspaper is almost always partisan in its views, at least, in its way of stating them. People read more, and far more people read, but the ratio of thinking to reading has not increased, either in the individual or in the mass.

The citizens who stand above their fellows in knowledge and mental power ought to set an example, not only by themselves thinking more and thinking harder about public affairs than most of them do, but also by exerting themselves to stimulate and aid their less instructed or more listless neighbours. Just as religion throws upon every Christian the duty of helping his neighbour in the hour of need, so civic duty requires each of us to raise the level of citizenship, not merely by ourselves voting and bearing a share in political agitation, but by trying to diffuse among our fellow-citizens, whose opportunities have been less favourable, the knowledge and the fairness of mind and the habit of grappling with political questions which a democratic government must demand even from the average man. A multitude, without intelligent, responsible leaders whom it respects and follows, is a crowd ready to become the prey of any self-seeking knave.

Nor it is true that because men value equality, they reject eminence. They are always glad to be led, if someone, speaking to them with respect, but also with that authority which knowledge and capacity imply, will point out the path and give them the lead for which they are looking. If we are less active than we should be in this and other forms of civic work, the fault lies in our not caring enough for our country. It is easy to wave a flag, to cheer an eminent statesman, to exult in some achievement on land or at sea, but our imaginations are too dull to realize either the grandeur of the state in its splendid opportunities for promoting

the welfare of the masses, or the fact that the nobility of the state lies in its being the true child, the true exponent of the enlightened will of a right-minded and law-abiding people. Absorbed in business or pleasure, we think too little of what our membership in a free nation means for the happiness of our poorer fellow-citizens.

1. Define "average citizen". 2. Why does he fall short of the proper standard of civic duty? 3. Name the causes of the chief deficiencies. 4. Do men in their own affairs waste more chances than they use? 5. What makes a man indolent in public matters? 6. What is the basic fault of democracy? 7. Are we too easy on political offenders? 8. Name some of the things that take the citizen's attention from his civic duties. 9. If good men refuse to accept office and neglect to vote, what is the result? 10. Should politics be either dirty, vulgar, or corrupt? 11. Who is to blame if they are? 12. Name the two losses to the country caused by indifference on the part of good men. 13. Is not the low tone of public morals the curse of Canada today? 14. Have voters the means of fitting themselves to discharge their duties properly? 15. What agencies are at their command? 16. What duty rests upon those who are better informed than their neighbours? 17. Wherein do the following fail as instructors, and why: public meetings, newspapers, and campaign literature? What is the best method of reaching the people, rousing them, and informing them? 19. Which of the following is the better citizen: "A" votes with his party, but takes his team and hauls electors to the poll on the payment of \$5.00; "B" stays away from the poll and does \$5.00 worth of work at home, saying, "politics are rotten, and, anyhow, my vote won't affect the election"? 20. What are you doing for your less fortunate fellow-citizens?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1). "Every Pilgrim was trained to self-government, and where he went, order and equity accom-

panied him. A purer democracy could not be framed. For years the elections were made by the entire body of the assembled citizens, and Governors were responsible directly to the people, and were further restrained by a Council of seven members. This political basis is that upon which the present form of government rests, but it is strange to see what complications and wheels within wheels we have contrived to work into the super-structure. A modern ward-heeler of New York could have taken up the whole frame of government in the seventeenth century New England by the butt-end and cracked it like a whip, provided, of course, the Pilgrim Fathers had allowed him to attend the primaries.

“But it is more probable that the ward-heeler would have found himself promptly in the presence of one of those terrible magistrates, whose grim decrees gave New England’s naughty children the nightmare a century after the stern-browed promulgators of them were dust. The early laws against crime in New England were severe, though death was seldom or never inflicted, except for murder. But more irksome to one used to the lax habits of to-day would have been the punctilious rigidity with which they guarded the personal bearing, speech, and dress of the members of their community. Yet we may thank them for having done so. It was a wise precaution. They knew the frailty of the flesh, and how easily license takes an ell if an inch be given it. Nothing less iron than was their self-restraint could have provided material staunch enough to build up the framework of the nation. One might not enjoy

living with them, but we may be heartily glad that they lived, and we should be better off, if more of their stamp were alive still."

1. Where did the Pilgrims get their training for self-government? 2. Was their democracy direct or representative? 3. What would probably have been the fate of a modern ward-heeler caught wire-pulling by the Pilgrim Fathers? 4. Were the early laws of New England severe? 5. How do the habits of the Pilgrims compare with the habits of citizens of modern times? 6. In what respects were the Pilgrims staunch material for the framework of the United States? 7. What kind of material is required in Western Canada? 8. Are we getting it?

(2). "In a democracy the ruling men will be wire-pullers for their friends, but they will be no more on an equality with the people than generals or ministers of state are on an equality with the subject of a monarchy. The chief weapon of the wire-puller is party feeling, a sentiment representing the primitive combativeness of man. In aristocracies parties disputed and fought for the love of the game. In democracies the fragment of political power falling to each man's share is so extremely small that, even with the aid of the caucus, the stump, and the campaign newspaper, it would not be possible to rouse the interest of thousands or millions of men if it were not for another potent political force—corruption."

1. Is it true that wire-pullers may become the leading men in a democracy? 2. What weapon does the wire-puller use? 3. What did people fight for in aristocracies? 4. Why is there small interest taken in public affairs in democracies?

(3) "A modern state is a vast and complex organism. The individual voter feels himself lost among

the millions. He is imperfectly acquainted with the various issues and large problems of the day, and realizes how little his solitary vote can affect their decision. What he needs to give him support and direction is organization with his neighbours and fellow-workers. He can understand the affairs of his school district, his local farmers' union, and his district church. They affect him, and he feels that he can affect them. Through these community organizations he comes in touch with wider questions, in dealing with which he will act as one of an organized body, whose combined voting strength means power. Responsibility comes home to him, and to bring home responsibility is the problem of democracy."

1. What are some of the advantages of community organization? 2. In what way will community organization bring home a sense of responsibility to the careless citizen?

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that keeping the same men in the Municipal Council year after year is unsound in principle and dangerous in practice.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. Lack of competition makes the electors careless.
2. Men who would make good councillors lose interest—no chance for them.
3. Men kept in power become patronizing.
4. All should do their share and have an opportunity to qualify for higher and more responsible positions.

5. Continuance in office begets love of power.
6. Retaining office develops tendency for partiality towards friends.
7. If the experienced man moves away, no one is trained to fill his place.
8. Electors learn by doing—an election is an educator.
9. Every citizen should have a share in civic duties.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. When a good man is found or trained up, he should be kept.
2. Few men care for the work.
3. Why should one take on a burden that is a joy to someone else?
4. The public lose while training new men.
5. Only a few men in each community are qualified for a position on the Council.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

POSSESSIONS

1. Only that which we can use is ours.
2. The richness of our possessions is measured by our ability and appreciation, not by our ownership.
3. A man with keen relish gets more out of a bit of bread and meat than a sated gourmand out of a banquet.
4. A child with a rag doll in its arms is richer than a mother with a baby left in the care of an ignorant nurse.

5. A wealthy man who can see no more in the work of a master than he can in a ten-cent calendar possesses only ten cents' worth of the painting that cost him \$10,000.
6. The purpose of life is to use things, not to store them.
7. We miss our goal because we take the wrong road. We seek riches outside. We try to accumulate abundant possessions, and while we do it, we let the very faculties that might enjoy them wither.
8. Twenty years ago a young woman in her homestead shack longed for beautiful things. In the fierce struggle to gain the means to secure them she let her greed of ownership swallow up her love of beauty. To-day, in comfortable circumstances, she prefers the money to the beautiful things she once longed for, or she finds no satisfaction in the beautiful things she has purchased; and this, not because beauty is deceptive or unsatisfying, but because she has lost the taste for beauty by trying to get outside things, instead of inside growth.
9. The child who is trained to be physically strong and mentally alert, and with a responsive heart, is better fitted for life than the heir of great possessions, who has only one thought or one emotion.
10. Possessions are good. The ownership of property has a beneficial effect in giving a man stability, a sense of security, and a feeling of power he can scarcely possess without it. Yet

if he spent one-tenth the time and thought in how to use money that he spends in getting it, what a country our Canada would be!

11. A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.
12. The final measure of all riches is growth, for growth is life and the zest for life. Deft hands and an alert mind, senses quickened, keen appreciation, a heart that responds with sincere emotion, these are the true possessions.

13. We were busy making money
In the world's great game;
We were "gathering the honey"
When the vision came.
We greeted it with laughter,
Though we frowned upon
"The fools" who followed after
When the dream had gone!

Oh, we were canny schemers,
So we sold and bought;
And jeered the silly dreamers
And the dream they sought.
We gave but fleeting glances
To that "hare-brained crew",
For we took no stock in fancies—
Till the dream came true!

So much had gold imbued us,
So had greed been nursed,
We'd let the Best elude us
And we'd kept the Worst.
We long to "do it over",
But we cannot try,
For every dream's a rover,
And our dream's gone by!

TOPICS FOR CONVERSATION

- (a) Grain vs. mixed farming.
- (b) Education and happiness.
- (c) The present-day novel.
- (d) Spring or fall ploughing.
- (e) Looking on the bright side of things.
- (f) Sidelines in farming.
- (g) Life insurance.
- (h) Keeping a diary.
- (i) Size of farm for best success.
- (j) Ship-building in Canada.
- (k) The silo.
- (l) The amortization system.
- (m) How to prevent drifting of soil.
- (n) The value of a sense of humour.
- (o) The value of correct vital statistics.

CHAPTER IV

THE SELFISH CITIZEN

The more any public authority, be it a county or city or provincial or national government, either itself undertakes or interferes with the conduct by private persons of any matter in which money can be either made or spent, the more grounds does it supply to private persons for trying to influence its action in the direction which will benefit such persons, and so much the more will they be tempted to use their influence and give their votes with a view, not to the common good, but to their own pockets. There never was a time when, or a country where, politics were not more or less tainted or perverted by selfish private interests. Kings sought their own personal advantage. So did the relatives and ministers and favourites of kings. So did nobles, and so did the land-owning class which controlled English legislation in the 18th century. One of the strongest arguments used on behalf of the extension of the franchise has been that it would secure the general interest of the nation by depriving any class of a ruling influence. The friends of democracy expected that, by setting up the common good as the common aim, the pursuit of selfish purposes would be practically banished.

Nevertheless, selfish purposes have continued in all popular governments to determine the action of classes or groups of citizens. They constitute a great temptation, obscuring with many persons that sense of duty to think first of the whole community, which ought to be the pole star guiding a citizen's course. Let us note some of the forms in which this selfishness appears in modern states. Bribery is one of them. The taker of a bribe, be he an elector or a Member of a Legislature, makes an obviously flagrant sacrifice of public duty to personal advantage. The briber who tempts him may seem less base, but is even more mischievous, because he affects a wider circle.

There is another class of cases in which it is scarcely possible to prevent personal motives from warping the sense of duty to the nation. Taxes have to be imposed, both for national and local purposes, and the widening range of governmental action causes the rate to keep constantly rising. These taxes may be so imposed as to press more heavily upon some one class or classes in the nation and less heavily upon the others. Each class, therefore, has a motive for trying to shift the burden onto the others. The manual labourers, though, of course, opposed to a poll tax, are disposed to favour a direct tax upon property or income, rather than indirect taxes in the form of duties on imports, because income or property taxes can be most easily levied on the rich, and can be raised in proportion to the wealth of the persons or corporations who are required to pay them.

Tariff issues have come to be among the most constant issues of this country, so that the voter is apt to ask himself, not who is the best man to be chosen, and what is the best policy for the country, but if the candidate, whether he be a good man or a bad one, stands pledged to that view of the tariff which the voter considers to his own interests. Rarely does a voter find any difficulty in convincing himself that what is for his own interest is for the interest of the country.

In many countries large sums are taken from the public treasury to be spent on public works. There is much eagerness to secure appropriations for local objects, such as roads, bridges, and public buildings of various kinds. The local voters who reside in a place, by trying to secure such an appropriation, are prone to satisfy their private interest as residents or expectants of wages before their general duty as citizens. The distribution of money by the government is steadily practised as a means of securing votes in particular localities, and this practice comes very little short of political corruption.

We all know that franchises, such as street railways, waterworks, and gas works for the supply of a city, are often of great value. The directors and shareholders of a joint-stock company seeking to secure such a franchise are tempted to postpone the common interest of the city to their own interest as promoters. They are sometimes not only tempted themselves, but are disposed to tempt others.

Modern governments are large employers of labour, and large contractors. The more works any

public authority undertakes the more numerous are the opportunities for gain to those with whom it deals and to those whom it employs. Whoever has dealing with a public authority has a private interest of his own, distinct from and opposed to the public interest, for he wishes to sell dear, and the public wish to buy cheap. The dangers arising from such a private interest were so great that a statute was passed long ago forbidding contractors with the government to sit in the Legislature. But this is only a partial check.

Another class who deal with governments need to be specially mentioned—government servants. In many countries these civil servants are numerous enough to affect elections. In one of the Australian colonies, for instance, where the railways are the property of the state, the employees in each constituency organized themselves to extort from every candidate a promise to vote for higher wages. In England the clerks employed in the postal and telegraph service have frequently endeavoured to exert pressure at parliamentary elections, to the great inconvenience of the administration. So, too, the elections in towns where government dock-yards are situated have often turned upon the claims of the workmen to better wages or more favourable conditions.

Labouring men may desire laws shortening the hours of labour, or awarding compensation for accidents, or legalizing certain modes of conducting strikes. Employers may object to such laws. Railway directors may resist proposals to impose con-

ditions on the working of their lines, or upon the rates of freight they charge, and the shareholders may join in the resistance. Horse-breeders or saloon-keepers may think it is in their interests to have horse-racing maintained as an attractive sport, and therefore oppose laws seeking to extinguish betting. The business of brewing and of distilling has largely passed from private firms into the hands of joint-stock companies, so that the persons interested as shareholders in these industries are now very numerous. When measures are proposed in Parliament to restrict the number of places licensed to sell liquor, the directors of companies issue circulars calling upon the shareholders to defend their property by putting pressure on Parliament to reject these measures.

One more class of instances deserves attention, namely, the case of persons who have a personal interest in keeping a political party in power. Every government has a large number of civil employees in its service, from the higher officials in the administrative departments down to clerks and caretakers. Add to these the persons who have not got, but who desire to secure positions under the government, and the number may be large enough, especially in a constituency where the parties are nearly equal, to affect the result of an election. If these employees were permanently employed, they might be expected to vote like other citizens, because their position would not be affected by the vote they gave. If, however, they are liable to be dismissed on a change of government, private interest must needs displace

civic duty, and they are bound to vote, and probably also to work, for the government in power.

There is one other motive of interest which may affect a citizen's action. The sale of liquor requires a license, and this is apt to be granted as a favour to supporters of the party in power.

Modern governments control enormous pecuniary interests, and the men who administer the government are often poor. Considering the temptations which wealth can offer, it is creditable to most of our modern democracies that they have, on the whole, maintained a pretty high standard of honour. But the danger is ever present. Once the moral standard is allowed to sink, the task of restoring it becomes a hard one, harder than rousing a people from indolent indifference for a national crisis. A real issue which comes suddenly and thrills all hearts may do this, while moral decay, eating into the national character, destroys the very sentiments to which the reformer has to appeal. A nation may be stirred to splendid effort to uphold its honour, and yet remain the prey of sordid interests.

The chief issues which have given rise to political conflict have belonged to one or other of four classes. There have been strifes of different races or class groups within the same state; there have been quarrels of religion; there have been struggles over political power between those who held it and those who sought to share it; there have been struggles between different economic classes, in which the poorer strove to improve, by legislation, their material condition, as, for example, to obtain possession of land,

or to check burdensome taxation. The three former kinds of conflict have now almost passed away. There remain only conflicts of the fourth kind, which turn upon economic conditions, and which tend to become struggles between the richer and the poorer classes. When a small body of rich men are set over against a large body of poor men, both having equal political rights, the majority will naturally be tempted to use their power to secure economic benefits for themselves. Where this goes so that the rich form one party and the poor another, with few of middling fortune between the two, the temptation to the poor to throw undue burdens on the rich, and the consequent temptation to the rich to defend themselves by those illegitimate means which wealth provides will seldom be resisted. The condition in Canada, where the decisive voice is lodged in well-to-do town workers and small rural land-owners, would indicate that the danger of a class struggle between the rich and the poor is not imminent. But Canada, like all other nations, has already found out that she must guard herself against the insidious power of money, which knows how to play upon the self-interest of voters and legislators, polluting at its source the spring of civic duty.

1. Where do campaign funds come from? 2. If a candidate is financed by the party, and elected, is he the people's representative? 3. If a government is financed by big corporations and is returned, how do the corporations expect to be repaid? 4. Who are the real losers financially? 5. If Cabinet Ministers are controlled by private interests, what is the result on democracy? 6. Why will men do wrong things in politics that they would scorn to do in private business? 7. Show how people who would

not take money will be influenced by other forms of bribery, such as bridges, roads, public buildings, public offices, taxes, tariffs, franchise contracts. 8. What should be the punishment of the taker of a bribe? 9. Why is the party offering a bribe more mischievous than the taker of one? 10. Why are government contractors not allowed to be Members of the Legislature? 11. Should lawyer Members of Parliament act as counsel for applicants for private bills? 12. Give examples where the nature of his occupation influences a man's vote. 13. Explain the evils of the spoils system. 14. Mention some of the dangers attendant on the granting of liquor and other monopolistic licenses by the government. 15. Are the public men of Canada, as a class, dishonest? 16. What temptations meet a poor member in the transaction of public business? 17. Name four classes of issues which give rise to political conflicts, and give examples of each. 18. State briefly the cause of differences between the manufacturers of the East and the farmers of the West. 19. What are the grounds of the farmers' complaints against the banks? 20. What must farmers do to make their claims on the government good?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "The problem of character is the determining issue in the question of government. If men could be spoon-fed with happiness, a benevolent despotism would be the ideal system.

"Manhood and womanhood rest upon the spontaneous development of faculty. To find vent for the capacities of feeling, of emotion, of thought, of action, is to find oneself. The self so found has as the centre of its life the power of control.

"But that control must be self-control. The law, or compulsion, may be necessary for the purposes of external order, but it adds nothing to the inward life. It is a means, and not an end.

“Under self-guidance individuals will diverge widely, and some of their peculiarities will be futile, others wasteful, others even painful to witness, but it is good that they should differ. Individuality is an element of well-being, and common life is the fuller and richer for the variety of types that it includes, and that go to enlarge the area of collective experience.”

1. What is the determining issue in the question of government? 2. What would be the ideal system of government, if people could be spoon-fed with happiness. 3. Why is self-control the outward expression of a high type of manhood? 4. Show how self-guidance and control produce varied types of individuality. 5. Why should individuality be encouraged in the process of education?

(2) “Popular governments have hitherto glided into democracies, and democracies as uniformly perish in their own excess. If they escape a violent end by faction, they die of disease. They cannot escape. *Men are made by nature unequal*. It is vain, therefore, to treat them as if they were equal. The able and energetic insist on gaining an outward position, which shall distinguish them from their fellows. Equality is too jealous to allow differences of rank and power, so differences of wealth alone remain. The pursuit of wealth becomes, thus, the predominant passion, degrades the national character, raises to eminence the least worthy of elevation and corrupts those who obtain it by luxury, stimulates a false and unworthy ambition in those who aspire to it, and, having inverted society, lifts to the top the vulgar and commonplace and flings the worth and intellect into the dust-heap. Finally,

democracy itself is overthrown by the nature which it has insisted on defying.”

1. Criticize the foregoing statement by Froude, with special reference to—(1) Men are made by nature unequal; (2) equality is too jealous to allow differences in rank and position in a democracy; (3) the pursuit of wealth becomes the dominant passion under democracy, so that democracy is responsible for the evils enumerated.

(3) “Between ‘Homo sum’ and ‘I am the state’ is the whole space between fraternity and tyranny. The very law that requires that mankind should have no owners requires that it should have guides.”

1. How does “I am a man” represent brotherhood, and “I am the State” stand for absolutism? 2. Why do men under a democratic government refuse to be slaves, but respect intelligent leadership?

(4) “Not men, but things, are tyrants. The true tyrants are the frontier, the beaten track, routine, the blindness of fanaticism, deafness and dumbness caused by diversity of language, hate born of dispute, war born of hate.

“The wolf is the fact of the forest. He is the wild fruit of the defenceless solitude. Bad men spring from bad things—hence, let us correct the things.”

1. Explain how things, rather than men, are tyrants. 2. Name some true tyrants, and show how each binds its victims in the basest servitude. 3. Show how the drunkard is the fruit of the saloon, the pickpocket the fruit of the slum, and that by doing away with bad things we are making or keeping men good.

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that the railroads of Canada should be owned by the Dominion Government.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. Federal ownership would remedy the evils of the present system, for—
 - (a) The Federal Government would eliminate discriminating rates;
 - (b) Present excessive rates and fares would be lowered;
 - (c) The present economic wastes could be eliminated.
2. Government ownership is the proper solution, as private ownership has proved itself inadequate, for—
 - (a) The tendency to monopolistic control has worked various evils. Rates have been raised, fares have been raised, excessive profits have been realized at the expense of the general public, speculation has been encouraged, and political corruption has been augmented.
3. Federal control would give better and more efficient service, for—
 - (a) All the time of officials would be spent in trying to better the service;
 - (b) New lines would be built only to places needing them.
4. Federal ownership is practical, for—
 - (a) Foreign countries have proved that governments can successfully own and operate railway systems—Germany has reduced its rates by government ownership—France gives lower fares under government service—New Zealand realizes large profits from its railway enterprises, in addition to furnishing excellent service and giving low rates.

5. The argument that government ownership is not practical, because such ownership would result in waste and extravagance, is not valid, for great publicity could be given to the management of affairs. Civil service would secure the most competent and careful employees. Extravagance and negligence would be cause for dismissal from service.
6. The argument that government ownership is not practical, because such a plan is socialistic in its nature and contrary to the spirit of our institutions, is not valid, for it is the duty of every government to see to it that public service corporations are operated in the interest of the public, and not as money-making schemes. The Canadian people have time and again advocated the eliminating of all kinds of monopolistic agreements, and the sentiment in favour of government ownership is constantly increasing.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. Government ownership would be an unwarranted infringement of private enterprise, for—
 - (a) It would take from the hands of private parties the greatest and most complex undertaking of modern times;
 - (b) It would take millions upon millions of private capital out of remunerative investment and force it to seek other channels of trade;
 - (c) It would be compelling private parties to give up a business which they have spent years and fortunes in making, and which rightfully belongs to them;

- (d) It would demoralize other private enterprises, for the throwing of such gigantic sums of money into the industrial field would upset our whole industrial system.
2. Government ownership would be unwise from a business standpoint, for—
- (a) It would result in extravagance, for government employees are notoriously careless and wasteful in their use of materials, and government employees have no incentive to be careful.
 - (b) The government could not secure competent management for the roads, for the great captains of industry who now operate the roads, would never consent to become mere government employees, and Parliament would be continually dictating the way in which the railway should be managed.
 - (c) The undertaking is too vast, for if Parliament met in daily session it could not legislate sufficiently, for there would be literally thousands of Acts to be passed every day relative to the operations of the road, and the undertaking would necessitate as large a governmental force to conduct the railroads as is now required to manage the affairs of the whole nation.
3. Government ownership would be unwise from a financial standpoint, for—
- (a) The government would find difficulty in getting money enough to pay for the roads,
 - (b) and the attempt to purchase the roads would play havoc with the money markets, and the slightest mismanagement would result in loss to the government, and thus to the citizens of the country.

4. Government ownership would be unwise from a political standpoint, for—
 - (a) Government ownership would necessarily impose enormous burdens upon Parliament, which would naturally detract from the service in other branches of government,
 - (b) and Parliament would make the railroads the object of political patronage, and political parties would make questions of railroad management party issues, and thus inevitably drag the railroads themselves into the political arena.
5. The people get a better service under private ownership with expert management than they could expect under government ownership.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

WHY IT IS DESIRABLE THAT THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE ONLY SHOULD BE TAUGHT IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS

1. It is the first essential to individual progress in any country to know the language.
2. The English language is of more importance to a foreign settler in Canada than arithmetic.
3. Language opens the doors of opportunity, and, in justice to the children, they should be taught English.
4. The State—

“While she exacts allegiance shall admit
 An obligation on her part to teach
 Them who are born to serve her and obey;
 Binding herself by statute to secure
 For all the children whom her soil maintains
 The rudiments of letters; so that none be forced
 To drudge through weary life without the aid
 Of intellectual implements and tools.”

If it is the duty of the state to supply intellectual implements and tools, a knowledge of the English language is certainly the most valuable tool that can be suggested.

5. There should be uniformity; that is, one common school teaching the things which are common to all, one standard of teacher eligible to teach in all schools, one normal training course to which all teachers should measure up, and a group of inspectors eligible to inspect any school under the government.
6. If the privilege of being taught in a foreign language is granted to one nationality, it must be granted to all, and where there are more than one set of foreigners the arrival or departure of a single family may alter the situation, and cause a new language to be introduced.
7. Foreigners in the minority may have to send their children to a school taught in a non-English language not their own.
8. The one-room, ungraded school, either in a rural district or in a village, cannot stand the additional handicap of bi-lingualism.
9. As the Celts, the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans became merged and blended in the English nation, with the Anglo-Saxon element and language predominating, so must the foreign elements in Canada be merged and blended into the Canadian nation, with the larger Anglo-Saxon element and the English language prevailing.

10. The sentiments and traditions of a country are wrapped up in its language. To think and feel as a Canadian, one must be able to speak the Canadian language.
11. British institutions can be best interpreted in the English language.
12. The law is printed in English, and is coloured by immemorial habits and customs, which can be understood only in the light of the English language.
13. There cannot be community organizations and local co-operation where the languages are different.
14. When in Rome, do as the Romans do—foreign settlers come here to better their conditions, to make homes for themselves, and establish their children. If their former homes were poor enough to leave, they are poor enough to be forgotten. If the new homes are good enough to live in, they are good enough to be loyal to.

TOPICS FOR CONVERSATION

- (a) Nickel.
- (b) Being prompt.
- (c) Municipal trustee boards.
- (d) Best fencing.
- (e) Free wheat.
- (f) An ice and milk house.
- (g) A Canadian aristocracy.
- (h) The stacking of grain.
- (i) Citizenship, the boy's and girl's future destiny and aim.

- (j) Being just an average farmer.
- (k) Men the world can trust.
- (l) Our foreign-born neighbours.
- (m) Sheep and weeds.
- (n) What last year taught me.

CHAPTER V

THE DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP

Popular government, resting on the recognition of the principle of independence, no less than on obedience, requires for its success the presence of the conditions which make independence real and serviceable. Each member of a free community must be capable of citizenship. The citizen must be able to understand the interests of the community, must be able to subordinate his own will to the general will, must feel his responsibility to the community, and be prepared to serve it by voting, working, or (if need be) fighting.

Whoever wishes to assert his own will as a member of the community must not only consent to obey the will of the community, but must also bear a share in serving it. As he is to profit by the safety and prosperity the community provides, so he must seek its good and place his personal will at its disposal.

In a democracy under universal suffrage there are certain requirements essential and fundamental to the continued safety of the national life. Rights cannot be maintained, if duties are neglected. They go together, and in our political life of to-day it is essential that emphasis be laid upon our duties, rather than upon our rights. When a man, for instance, looks upon voting as a right, instead of a

duty, he is apt to regard his vote as his property, to be used as something of his own, to do with as he chooses, without public responsibility. A man's vote is not his own; it is his country's—a sovereign weapon entrusted to him, not merely for the protection of his own rights, but to be used for the defence of the weak and for the protection of the highest public welfare. It is so with all his rights. They all involve corresponding duties to the state. Benefit and burden, power and responsibility, go together. In a democratic state, political rights cannot be secured unless they have their foundations in the righteousness of political life. If the people are to rule the nation, they should understand the conditions on which alone this can be done. Some of these conditions are:

The people must be intelligent. The people may be ignorant and depraved under a despotism, where they have no power or responsibility, but a democracy with universal suffrage must provide for universal education. If the designs of the false leader and the pleas of the wily demagogue are to be recognized and exposed, it must be by educated intelligence. Every true citizen will, therefore, do all he can to promote the general intelligence of his community. It is for this reason that the state provides schools and colleges and universities. It must do so in its own defence, that its citizens, its sovereign rulers, may be intelligent.

The people must be moral. Moral character is the foundation of the state. As long as the hearts of the people are right the nation is safe; but when

the springs of our national life are poisoned, the result is decay and disillusion, and the outcome is the man on horseback with the iron hand of despotism, or a plutocracy, where the people cringe and fawn at the behest of those who have money or places or favours to bestow. It is not the amount of wealth, but the courage of the national conscience that must be relied upon to save the national life. It is in moral character that the citizen is a shield of defence to the state. It is this that gives him devotion and sacrifice for war, courage in battle, insight and boldness in leadership, and manly independence to withstand the wiles and seductions of the corruptionist.

The people must be free. They must not be restrained by power. They must not be too much bound by party. They must not be bought by favour. This involves free speech, free press, free assemblies, free petition, a free ballot. Without these there can be no free thought—and without freedom to think there can be no freedom in government. Liberty of speech, and of the press, may be abused, but it is safer to run the risk of this abuse, holding every man responsible for the effect of his words, rather than suffer the denial of freedom. If the people are to be intelligent, if they are to understand questions of government and public policies, there must be much arguing, much writing, many opinions, free and peaceful discussion. Milton says: "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all other liberties."

Freedom in Canada is not in danger from absolute monarchs and despots, but it may be threatened by materialism, or commercialism, or party despotism, or the bribery of wealth. Some critics assert that the plutocracy, representing the great combinations of wealth, now owns or controls the Canadian newspapers and magazines, that college and university and church gifts and endowments from rich men are in many cases only for political purposes, to bind influential men to defend vested interests and to prevent social and political changes. All thoughtful men will agree that if liberty is not safe in these days, the decay of free institutions will be rapid and certain. Our schools and colleges and universities and legislative halls and editorial sanctums and pulpits, as well as voting booths, must resist every tyranny that would deny the freedom of thought and speech that has been bequeathed to us.

This freedom involves economic freedom. A man cannot be a good citizen, he cannot be free and independent, and a strength to the state, without a livelihood, without a home, without some property, or business, or occupation, or some interest to give him concern for the welfare and good order of the community. The man who is always on the ragged edge of subsistence, who is always living from hand to mouth, and who, when hard times come, falls into helplessness and pauperism—such a man is apt to make a very poor citizen. You cannot appeal with much assurance to the patriotism and public spirit of a man who does not know where his next day's living is to come from, or whether his wife and child

are to have a shelter over their heads the coming winter. Every honest and self-respecting citizen should have an opportunity for self-support, for an adequate livelihood is the one sure foundation of that honest independence, which is not only one of the greatest of virtues, but also the fruitful mother of the virtues—of courage, tenacity, endurance, self-reliance, thrift, cheerfulness, hope.

This economic livelihood involves economic independence. The labourer supporting himself by his daily wage must be as free to follow his own judgment as is his rich employer. The labourer in humble station should suffer no penalty and receive no reward from his wealthier neighbour for his political conduct. To control the political conduct of another, whether by reward or punishment, comes under the general head of bribery or coercion.

The people must be patriotic. Patriotism is love of country—the spirit that leads one to devote himself to the service of the community. It does not involve seeking and holding public office, though one may be able to perform great patriotic services in office. It does not involve merely devotion to one's government. The government may be utterly wrong, and it may be the patriot's duty to use his best endeavours to change his government's policy. Pitt and Burke and Fox were better patriots than George III, though, by their bold speech in opposition to their government, they gave moral aid and comfort to the American colonies in arms. At all hazards, the patriot will strive to have the wrong made right, for the truest defence a citizen can offer his country

is to prevent her pursuit of an unrighteous course. Patriotism will demand honesty in the public service, will denounce as traitorous the man who cheats the nation or robs the public treasury, or who, by trickery or bribery, secures legislation for selfish ends against the public interest. The officer of the Executive who takes an oath to execute just laws, and then betrays his trust and his country by going into alliance with criminals and taking bribes, is a traitor. The primary and fundamental habits of civic patriotism have been summarized as follows:

To strive to know what is best for one's country as a whole;

To place one's country's interest above party, or class, or selfish interest;

To be willing to take trouble, personal and even tedious pains for the well-government of one's country. Whatever the community to which one belongs, be it township, village, city, or state, patriotism involves the willingness of service and sacrifice for the common good.

Patriotism does not stop with obedience to the laws, or the payment of taxes. It is no evidence of a man's patriotic citizenship that he keeps out of jail and out of the police courts. Patriotism is not a mere abstaining from evil. It requires expression, not merely in words, but in action, in deeds. A man's patriotism is shown by his life, not only in private, as the just man who lives honestly, injures none, and gives every man his due, but also in relation to his public duties—in speech, in vote, in his political activity. The patriot is "the one who serves". He

may serve the community in attending political conventions and meetings and using his wits and money in detecting, exposing, and defeating evil designs calculated to injure the state.

In addition to intelligence, virtue, freedom, and patriotism, and in order to maintain these, a people must have a religion—not an established church nor a religion imposed and sustained by law, but a free church in a free state, with religion and the essentials of religious unity in the hearts of the people. The nation has a soul. It is not only material, it is spiritual. The foundations of its morality and virtue, and therefore of its spiritual life, are in its religion. If the religious life of a people decays, if the religious motives no longer restrain the passions, desires, and ambitions of a nation, the people sink into materialism and selfishness, incapable of service or of sacrifice or of devotion. A condition will arise where the law prevails that “*Might makes Right*”.

It is well said that of all forms of government, democracy is most dependent on religion. If a man is to resist the tyranny of the king, or the tyranny of wealth, or the tyranny of the majority, he must believe that his conduct will be counted unto him for righteousness, and that there is a power to which he can ally himself and be invincible; that right will prevail; that by justice a nation will flourish; and that by injustice it will fall. The fundamental moral qualities in a democratic state will produce in the people a love of order and a reverence for law. Law and order are essential to true

constitutional freedom. Government by law is paramount to every interest, for on this all other interests depend. There can be no freedom without it. To undermine the defences of law is to lead to the despotism of the military dictator, or to the despotism of anarchy and the mob. In a free and intelligent nation rights are to be won and changes made not by bloodshed and revolution, but by means of public discussion and the process of public law. This reverence for law will cultivate in the majority a righteous respect for the rights of the minority; it will make life and all just rights of property more sacred, and, in times of social progress and change, it will make the people radical only when they are sure they are right, and wisely conservative from fear of injustice and wrong.

The same qualities will bring leaders to the people. Without safe leadership, popular government is impossible. The masses cannot act except under direction. If the people cannot find leaders of courage, of educated intelligence, of rectitude, and of unswerving devotion to the people's interests, they will be helpless against the classes that represent cunning and power, and that would exploit and oppress the people for selfish ends. There is no form of government in which rectitude in leadership and office is more vital than in a democracy. The people may mean well, and would do right, but they must have great thinkers for the solution of their problems, and bold and devoted leaders for the execution of these solutions. Political agitators and demagogues often proclaim them-

selves for a popular cause, and declaim on the people's wrongs, but as soon as they attain power the rich and powerful classes buy them from their allegiance and induce them to betray their trust.

1. Why must a citizen be free? 2. Give examples where a voter is not free. 3. How should a man regard his vote? 4. Show how rights cannot be maintained, if duties are neglected. 5. Discuss: "A man's claim to his rights is based on the fact that securing his rights gives him an opportunity to do his duty." "If a man is without his rights, he is not in a position to do his duty." 6. Why is it necessary that people in a democracy be intelligent? 7. Why does the state provide for universal education? 8. Why is attendance at school compulsory? 9. What is the true foundation of the nation? 10. When moral life decays what becomes of a nation? 11. Show that "national morality" is only the sum of the morality of individuals. 12. In what respects must the people have liberty? 13. What are the chief dangers to freedom in Canada? 14. If a man lacks a livelihood, is he likely to be free? 15. The labourer should be free—is he? 16. Name some legitimate ways of trying to get others to vote as you do. 17. Name some illegal methods often followed by employers of large numbers of workmen. 18. What is real patriotism? 19. Must one always support the government to be patriotic? 20. What are the demands of patriotism on the part of the Ministers, officials, and clerks in the civil service? 21. What does civic patriotism include? 22. What effort do you put forth to find out what is best for your country? 23. Do you place your country's interest above party, class, or self? 24. What name should be given to army-supply grafters? What punishment do they deserve? 25. To what extent are you willing to serve, and how much are you willing to sacrifice for the public good? Is obeying the law and paying taxes sufficient to make a man a good citizen? Why? 27. Discuss the very great importance of the religious influence in a democracy. 28. What results, if religious life decays? 29. Why must the people have leaders?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "One of the criticisms of democracy is that the mechanical majorities manufactured under our present 'representative' system are almost valueless as indications of the general will, and that it is difficult to unite the judgments of the units of the average mass so as to constitute a will that deserves to be called general. If the general will cannot be discovered, it obviously cannot rule. But it is self-evident that the general will is discoverable in much the larger and much the more essential field of legislation. That murder, theft, and fraud should be punished is not merely the will of the majorities. It is the will of the nation. If these fundamental laws were strictly and impartially enforced, and if there were added to them a few further enactments—revival, for instance, of the mediæval laws against usury, against forestalling, and against irresponsible monopolies—and all other laws repealed, few would feel the difference, save as a relief from some inconveniences.

"Another objection to democracy is that the general will does not exist in regard to abstruse or technical questions. But there is usually a 'general will' to be discovered in regard to the objective, as, for example, that the nation should be supreme at sea—though the detailed means must often necessarily be left to experts. There is always the general judgment as to whether the object has been achieved. The nation cannot design its own ships, it cannot even adequately judge of the designs until

experience tests them, but it can define the end it desires achieved and the sacrifices it is prepared to make in order to achieve that end. It must, then, employ men whom it supposes to be honest and capable to carry out its wishes. If they fail, the nation must dismiss or punish them. And this is what most of us have to do in the most ordinary affairs of life. I do not admit the right of a tailor or a builder to provide me with the kind of coat or the kind of house he thinks best suited to promote my moral and material progress. He must provide me with the kind I like. I could not make that kind, or any kind, myself, but I am the judge of what I want.

“And it is so with those professions which sometimes seem to claim the right to coerce. A doctor may tell me that if I go on drinking, I shall die. He has then done his duty. The choice is with me. Similarly, if the scientific advisers of a nation declare that unless certain sanitary regulations are enforced there is grave danger of an epidemic, they have done their duty. It is to be admitted that the community in its corporate capacity, like the individual in his private capacity, can act either unwisely or wickedly. If it does the former its members must expect to suffer the consequences of the errors for which they are collectively responsible. If it does the latter, there is a responsibility to a Higher Power, from which all authority is ultimately derived. But in neither case can any human power be discovered whose authority can justly over-ride, in regard to its own affairs, the general

will of a people which has constituted itself a sovereign state.”

1. Is it difficult to discover the general will of the average citizens? 2. Have we too many laws? 3. Why should the Provinces of Canada not have uniform statutes on matters in which the conditions are the same in all the Provinces? 4. Name some subjects suitable for standard legislation in all the Provinces. 5. How is the general will arrived at in abstruse or technical questions? Give illustrations. 6. What is the result if the sovereign power acts unwisely? Wickedly? 7. What is the highest human power in a democracy?

(2) “Democracy, which means popular control over the government, can easily be combined with an efficient and well-ordered administration carried on by experts. The situation seems to call for three reforms:

1. A solely responsible Prime Minister, exclusively engaged with national business;
2. The replacing of politician Ministers by the best experts;
3. The creation of an efficient Council to serve as a national intelligence department.”

Mention some of the advantages of a government composed of a Premier, with experts selected by the Legislature, instead of political Ministers, and a Council as a national intelligence department. Is such a system practicable in Canada?

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that party government is a useful system.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. This system has been developed as the result of the whole history of our country and ought, therefore, to be cherished and guarded.

2. It is the best practical system for use, insuring, as it does, that every measure shall be adequately discussed before passing into law.
3. Coalition governments have generally been failures. Even in the crisis caused by the Great War, it is doubtful if the British government was strengthened by the coalition.
4. It introduces discipline into the debates, and does much to prevent that extreme self-assertion which has given rise to so many parties in France. Individual liberty in excess simply means anarchy. Some sort of discipline is as necessary in Parliament as it is on board ship, or in the army.
5. It tends to interest the people in politics without unnecessarily distracting and confusing their minds.
6. Even with the energy displayed by the party organizations, it is difficult to get the people generally to take an interest in public affairs and to go to the polls. Until the people realize more fully their duties as citizens, the party system is necessary.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. It is fatal to independence of judgment, leading men to vote more because they belong to a certain party than because they approve the principle of a measure.
2. Loyalty to party is apt to become the great guiding principle for the majority of the Members of the Legislature, and this is but a poor substitute for loyalty to conscience.

3. No consistent and far-sighted policy is possible, and statesmen are apt to adopt a hand-to-mouth policy, suited to the needs of the hour and the necessity of vote-catching.
4. It has a tendency to make both politicians and the public narrow-minded, bigoted, unpatriotic, suspicious, violent, uncharitable, and corrupt.
5. It springs from a false notion of freedom, which makes the government unsuitable and the Ministers timorous.
6. The effect of party government is that the country is governed by an oligarchy composed of a few rich men.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

LIBERTY

1. Introduction—We as Canadians have had no experience of life without liberty—can scarcely realize the consequences if we were deprived of it—Liberty with us is as commonplace as the bright sunshine and the prairie breeze.
2. Liberty, as we have it, is the fruit of centuries of conflict—give a short sketch of the development of liberty in England.
3. Liberty includes:
 - (1) International Liberty;
 - (2) National Liberty;
 - (3) Individual Liberty.
4. International Liberty—means general non-interference in the affairs of other nations—public right must be upheld—refer to Britain's fight for Belgium.

5. National Liberty—means independence of a race or nation—where a weaker race or nation is incorporated with a stronger and can be governed by ordinary law applicable to both parties to the union, and fulfilling all the ordinary principles of liberty, the arrangement may be best for both—but where the government is constantly forced to resort to exceptional legislation for a portion of the area governed, the result cannot be national liberty. Give examples of men who fought for national independence, and refer to some great battles fought in the struggle for national liberty, such as Marathon, Thermopylæ, Bannockburn, etc.
6. Individual Liberty includes :
 - (1) Civil Liberty;
 - (2) Fiscal Liberty;
 - (3) Personal Liberty;
 - (4) Social Liberty;
 - (5) Economic Liberty;
 - (6) Domestic Liberty.
7. Civil Liberty—means the right to be dealt with according to law—secured to us by Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the Habeas Corpus Act.
 - (a) Discuss: “The first condition of universal freedom is a measure of universal restraint.”
 “Law is essential to liberty, for it guarantees liberty to the whole community.”
 - (b) Law must be impartial—judges must be independent—refer to the danger of calling judges from the Bench to politics, and the selection of politicians for the Bench—

Courts must be accessible—procedure must be cheap—small debt courts necessary in Western Canada—abolition of the power of money to purchase skilled advocates.

8. Fiscal Liberty—the Stuarts brought on a crisis by arbitrary taxation—George III did the same in dealing with the American colonies—taxation must vary from year to year, so properly is a matter for the Executive rather than for the Legislature. This means that the Executive must be restrained, not only by laws, but by direct and constant supervision—it means Responsible Government. This is the reason we oftener hear the cry, “No taxation without representation” than “No legislation without representation”—From the 17th century down, fiscal liberty has been involved with what has been called political liberty.
9. Personal Liberty—means liberty of thought and exchange of thought—that is, liberty of speech, writing, printing, and peaceable discussion—liberty of religion, that is, thought and expression must be free, but not the practice of precepts that would violate the rights of others or cause a breach of peace—give illustrations from history.
10. Social Liberty—means freedom from religious, legal, or social caste restrictions—no special opportunities for people of a certain language or class, such as ecclesiastic appointments—freedom to choose and follow an occupation, such as getting commissions in the army and

navy—freedom of opportunity to secure self-advancement—“The open road for talent”, “the open road for women”.

11. Economic Liberty—means the abolition of monopolies, navigation laws, and protective tariffs—every honest and willing person must be given a chance to earn a living by being provided with access to the means of production or by being guaranteed a certain share in the common wealth—giving each individual his share of the social inheritance—the principle of “freedom of contract and personal responsibility” seemed to imply not to attempt to regulate industry by law, but the state has gradually extended public control in the industrial sphere and assumed responsibility in the matter of the education and feeding of children, care of the sick and aged, etc.
12. Domestic Liberty—in former times the husband was lord of the person and property of wife and children—woman is gradually winning her way to an equality with man—Refer to Alberta Equal Suffrage Act, the Married Women’s Home Protection Act, and other Acts, showing advance along the line of domestic liberty.

TOPICS FOR CONVERSATION

- (a) Long and short-term credits.
- (b) A dwelling house for the teacher.
- (c) The use of paint.
- (d) Community laundries.

- (e) Alfalfa.
- (f) The district nurse.
- (g) The school-house as a social centre.
- (h) The shelter belt.
- (i) Progress means a fight.
- (j) The Home-makers' Club.
- (k) Getting ready for winter.
- (l) A beautiful home vs. a bank account.
- (m) The inflexible will.
- (n) Children and chores.
- (o) Safeguarding what we have.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP

Equality of civil right calls for freedom of expression, but back of the votes are the influences which secure votes—the varied forces which produce conviction and create public sentiment. It is the extent to which one contributes to these influences that measures a man's political power.

The responsibilities of citizenship, then, embrace all those acts, or possible acts, or those habits or attitudes which express the sum total of one's possible contributions to the formation of public opinion, and to the maintenance of proper standards of civic conduct. Power and responsibility are to be judged, not by a man's single vote, but by the indefinable influence radiating from his personality, varying with moral perception, knowledge, and experience, and capable of being lessened or increased as one shrinks his individuality, or expands his life and throws his full weight as a growing man of noble purpose into the civic scale. What shall be my attitude towards the community? How shall I relate myself to the struggling mass of humanity—the people of this great country? What can I do to aid the endeavours that are being made to extend and perfect the means of education, to make the community more comfortable to live in, to secure better

housing and sanitation, to secure higher standards of public service and a higher sense of loyalty to our common country?

Progress is not a blessing conferred from without. It merely expresses the gains of individual efforts in counteracting the corrupt influences, which, if successful, would make democratic institutions impossible. No greater mistake can be made than to think that our institutions are fixed, or may not be changed for the worse. We are a young nation, and nothing can be taken for granted. Increasing prosperity tends to breed indifference and to corrupt moral soundness. Glaring inequalities in condition create discontent and strain the democratic relation. The vicious are the willing and the ignorant the unconscious instruments of political artifice. The selfish hand seeks to control government, and every increase of governmental power, even to meet just needs, furnishes opportunity for abuses and stimulates the effort to bend it to improper uses. Free speech voices the appeals of hate and envy, as well as those of justice and charity. A free press may become the instrument of cunning greed and ambition, as well as the agency of enlightened and independent opinion. But no organization, and no combination, however strong, can outrage the rights of any community, if the community sees fit to assert itself. The forms of its organized effort are simply what it may desire or tolerate. Whatever evil may exist in society or politics simply points the question to the independent citizen—what are you doing about it?

The true citizen will endeavour to understand the different racial viewpoints of the various elements which enter into our population; he will seek to divest himself of antipathy or prejudice towards any who have come to us from foreign lands; and he will try, by happy illustration of his own conduct, to hasten appreciation of the British ideal.

Very different views have been taken of the worth and results of party as a motive force in politics. Philosophers, treating the matter in an abstract way, and historians, recording the violence of civil strife, have usually condemned it altogether. They point out how it blinds men to the truth, incites them to mutual hatred, and substitutes the interest of a section for that of the nation. Practical politicians, on the other hand, generally praise party spirit. It supplies the motive power in free governments; it enables men to work together; it "brings out the vote".

Men like Burke, while recognizing the necessity for party as a means of government, usually distinguished its legitimate from its perverted form. It is legitimate and useful when it is based on a principle and embodies a doctrine. It is pernicious when it blindly follows a leader, or concentrates the efforts of a group to seize or hold political power. In every community there must needs be diversities of view regarding public matters. Leading men become the exponents of opposed views. To get adherents and to make their views prevail they gather other men behind them, combine and organize, and a party emerges. This party is coloured and mould-

ed by certain tendencies of human nature, and especially sympathy, the disposition to imitate, the liking for association, and the love of a fight. These tendencies are intermingled in each group, and, indeed, in each individual, in varying proportions. So what is called party spirit is itself, as the result of these tendencies, a singular blend of thought and emotion, the element of reason and that of feeling being present in different relative strength in different persons.

Where each man has his own affairs to occupy him, there must be some means of bringing current questions to the knowledge of the citizens, of explaining their meaning, and of presenting and advocating particular proposals for handling current issues. Accordingly, those who think together and wish to act together must organize, and their organization becomes a party. If parties existed, as they profess to exist, for the purpose of promoting the public welfare, by advocating views and proposals deemed to be conducive to that welfare, party spirit could hardly do mischief. But, in fact, parties exist for other reasons, and the spirit that moves them ceases to regard solely, or even mainly, the public welfare. This appears when we consider what are the forces that hold a party together. One is faith in the principles it professes; another is attachment to its leaders; a third is the desire to see the party strong and successful; the fourth is the love of combat, the wish, not merely to succeed, but to fight with and overcome the opposing party. During the last hours of an election this last-men-

tioned element is supreme. The merits of the issue are forgotten, and each side fights to win.

Suppose an ordinary honest citizen to be considering how he shall vote on some public issue. Presumably he belongs to one party and prefers to continue to support that party. If he finds his own opinion on the question to coincide with his party's opinion, all is simple. If, however, he differs in opinion from his party, what is his action likely to be, and what ought it to be? In four cases out of five the average man will simply follow his party, not troubling himself to examine the matter. The party has done the thinking and made the decision. If, however, being a somewhat more active or conscientious citizen than is the average man, he examines the issue for himself and concludes that his party is wrong, the question follows whether he shall be ruled by his own opinion or subordinated to that of the party. Let us distinguish the case of the conscientious citizen who is only a private in the party army, having nothing to do but cast his vote, from the case of the prominent conscientious citizen who is an officer and leader in that army. The one who is a private will usually hesitate to desert his party. It is unpleasant to support by his vote those whom he has hitherto opposed, and he hates to be regarded by his party associates as a deserter. Nevertheless, the voice of duty requires him to obey his convictions.

Let us, however, suppose the citizen to be a leader in his party, so prominent a politician that others look to him, and that his own political future is bound up with the party fortunes. His career may

be at stake, he will be exposed to censure from his own side if he forsakes it, and will receive from the other side those compliments for his candour which are even more deadly than abuse. The entrance into the matter of his personal interest as a man having a political reputation and career cannot but affect his judgment. Other considerations come in to confuse the issue. A man prominent in his party may think that the good he can do by remaining in it and trying to back it up, so that it may fight effectively in other questions, outweighs the harm he will do by voting on this particular instance against his own conviction. Or he may value so highly the influence of his party on the welfare of the nation, and may so much fear to weaken it by helping to expose it to defeat on this particular question that it will seem right to do what would otherwise be wrong, for the sake of the greater good to follow from keeping the party in power. Much depends on the gravity of the particular question. If it is one profoundly affecting the national welfare, the statesman must, at all hazards, follow his conscience. If it is of passing and secondary consequence, he may feel it his duty to forego his own views for the sake of the party.

A member on the government side cannot always vote according to his personal convictions. He must support the Ministry, not only because his constituency sent him there to stand by it upon the main lines of policy, but also because it is more important to maintain a strong Executive and make its policy consistent and continuous, than it is to please oneself

by always following one's own views. This general principle is subject to two exceptions. In small matters not affecting the fate of a Ministry the member can now and then oppose Ministers, and may benefit them by doing so, because he apprises them of the diversities of view among their followers and warns them not to put too severe a strain on party loyalty. In very great matters, where the welfare of the nation may be involved, he must put that welfare, as he sees it, above party loyalty, and be prepared to turn out the Ministry rather than help it to do wrong.

To the average party man, especially if he be a local worker eager for the success of his own side, party is apt to become a fetish. He shouts for it; he canvasses for it; he supports it without stopping to think whether it is right or wrong. It is chiefly among these well-meaning, heedless men that party spirit substitutes passion or habit for independent reflection.

Independence is a good thing, conscience a vital thing. Politics would soon become rotten, if the citizens did not exercise their own judgment and keep in check that instinct of association which makes the strength of party spirit. But one must always beware of magnifying small differences, of indulging the habit and exaggerating the tone of independence, into which there may possibly enter a spice of vanity and self-importance. One will sometimes see a man of ability and courage whose influence is less than it ought to be, because he finds it hard to work with others and lets divergences of

opinion on secondary matters isolate him from his party.

1. Show how one's political power is not confined to the casting of the ballot. 2. Should everyone seek to extend his influence in a legitimate way? 3. What is the effect on the man himself, if he narrows his life to the virtues of private life? 4. What is there in private life to compensate a man for the lack of civic courage, political integrity, public spirit, political comradeship, and patriotism? 5. Why should a man seek to expand rather than shrink his individuality? 6. Explain how progress is but the gains of individual effort. 7. What are you doing to make your community more comfortable to live in? 8. You would not be the willing, but are you the unconscious co-worker with the enemies of democracy? 9. In what way may free speech and a free press become the instruments of hate and envy, cunning and greed? 10. Can an evil long exist in a community, if the people refuse to tolerate it? 11. We would fight and die for our flag, the emblem of liberty. Why can we not fight and live for liberty itself? 12. Is party necessary as a motive force in politics? 13. What is the philosopher's opinion, and upon what is it founded? 14. What is the practical politician's view, and what reasons does he give for his conclusions? 15. Distinguish between the legitimate and the pernicious form of party. 16. What is party spirit composed of? 17. Show how good or bad results may follow as reason or feeling is the dominant factor in party spirit. 18. A party is held together by: (1) Faith in its principles; (2) attachment to its leaders; (3) a desire to see it strong and successful, and (4) a love of combat. How many of these are in the interests of the public? 19. If you support your party for its principles, state the differences in principles of the two parties in Provincial affairs. 20. Is a man ever justified in voting for his party against his own convictions? Explain fully, and give an illustration. 21. How can the evils of party be checked? 22. Mention two instances where a Member of the Legislature should vote against the Ministry he was elected to support. 23. How may a man of ability and courage lose influence in his community?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "Comparison of the improvidence, inefficiency, and wastefulness by democratic France, Belgium, and Great Britain with the war-readiness and efficiency of autocratically-governed Germany has clearly revealed the inferiority of democracy in warfare and in national organization.

"Monarchies surpass democratic governments, not only in the ordinary routine of administration, but especially in war, for monarchies are more able than are democracies to raise troops, to use them to advantage, to arm in secret, to make military demonstrations to win over some neighbours and to overawe others."

1. What advantages has an absolute ruler over a democracy in war administration? Why? 2. At what period of the war is the advantage greatest? 3. What advantages has a democracy in times of peace?

(2) "The New Englander is attached to his township because it is independent and free; his co-operation in its affairs ensures his attachment to its interests, the well-being it affords him secures his affection, and its welfare is the aim of his ambition and future exertions. He takes a part in every occurrence in the place, he practises the art of government in the small sphere within his reach, he accustoms himself to those forms which ensure the steady progress of liberty, he imbibes their spirit, he acquires a taste for order, and collects clear, practical notions on the nature of his duties and the extent of his rights."

1. Why does the New Englander take an interest in municipal affairs? 2. How does taking part in local affairs fit him for citizenship? 3. Why should Canadians take an active part in school and municipal affairs?

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that, as society is constituted at present, the public hotel performs desirable social functions.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. The hotel offers a practical social retreat to which all classes can go, for—
 - (a) It is a place of meeting where everyone is welcome;
 - (b) It is a place in which the rich and the poor are on a par for the time being;
 - (c) It is a place to which persons can always go, either as individuals or in groups;
 - (d) It maintains hours that are suited to all classes;
 - (e) It furnishes sociability at a minimum cost, for there is no paying of admission or compulsory buying.
2. The hotel stimulates social fellowship, for—
 - (a) The proprietor desires to cultivate the good-will of the frequenters;
 - (b) The proprietor wishes to administer to the comforts of his patrons;
 - (c) It maintains requisites for social entertainment, for—
 - (1) The place is made headquarters for athletic information of all kinds. Bulletin boards are kept, and athletic trainers and those generally interested gather to converse;
 - (2) Daily papers and magazines are found on the reading tables;

- (3) The place is made the centre of political information;
 - (4) Lunches are often provided, sometimes free, sometimes at actual cost;
 - (5) There is absolute social freedom, so long as one person does not transgress the rights of another.
3. The hotel contributes certain additional social benefits, for—
- (a) It serves in the capacity of a free labour bureau. Contractors and employees seeking each other congregate there, and the proprietor keeps well informed as to the needs of employers and those looking for employment;
 - (b) It provides a place where men may, during the cold weather, find relief and shelter from the cold;
 - (c) It meets social needs that are supplied in no other way, for—
 - (1) The church does not meet them, for it is closed most of the time, and its principal object is to emphasize and stimulate the religious side of man's nature;
 - (2) Clubs, lodges, and similar organizations do not meet them, for their memberships and times of meeting are limited, and they charge fees for annual dues;
 - (d) It makes men more sympathetic and charitable, for at the hotel all men mingle unreservedly. They are all placed on a common footing.
4. The argument that society might be able to meet the social needs of all classes were hotels to be abolished is not valid, for the question under

discussion is properly confined to conditions as they exist at the present time.

(a) Facts show that society is not administering to the social needs in ways that the hotel does, for—

(1) No adequate provision is made to meet man's social wants;

(2) The fact is that men do go to hotels to find satisfaction for their wants.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. The hotel is not the proper place in which social instincts should be nurtured, for—

(a) The worst types of men are found there;

(b) No strict supervision is maintained;

(c) Temptations of every kind are placed in the patron's way.

2. Hotel-keepers are not desirable persons to mould social life, for—

(a) They have no thought of the moral welfare of those who frequent their houses;

(b) They have no concern for their patrons, except to secure as much of their money as possible.

3. The hotel breeds a degenerate social life, for—

(a) It has a tendency to detract from a man's home affairs, for he soon forms the habit of spending his evenings at the hotel;

(b) It encourages shiftlessness, for men loaf at hotels when they should be working;

(c) It breaks down a man's strength of character, for the coarser things of life are constantly emphasized around a hotel, so that soon all desire that a man may have to cultivate the better qualities of his nature is crushed out;

- (d) It causes a man to lose his self-respect, for he gradually grows to consider himself no better than the loafers who frequent the place;
 - (e) It causes a person's friends to lose confidence in him, for they cannot tell at what moment he will yield to one of the manifold temptations that surround him;
 - (f) It places a negative value on the influences of religion in a man's life, for church membership is a subject for jests, and ministers are held up to ridicule.
4. The hotel constantly encourages wrongdoing, for—
- (a) It gives a strong impetus to gambling, for all the essentials to gambling are furnished free, and professional gamblers haunt the premises;
 - (b) It encourages crime, for criminals are permitted to lounge around and wait for victims, and hotels offer opportunities for the planning of crimes of all sorts;
 - (c) It puts a premium on vice, and deprecates those things that go to make up a well-rounded life, for profanity is constantly heard, and coarseness and vulgarity are seen on every hand.
5. There is no real necessity for the social life of the hotel, for—
- (a) Most citizens have homes to which they can go, and they should find their social pleasure with their families;
 - (b) Adequate social stimulus for those who do not have homes can be found in lodges, church activities, public libraries, Y. M. C. A. rooms, theatres, picture shows, and the like.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

TAXATION

1. The true function of taxation is to secure to the government the element in wealth that is of special origin, or all that does not owe its origin to the productive efforts of living individuals. A tax thus raised is not something deducted from what the taxpayer has unlimited right to call his own, but is, rather, a repayment of something that was all along due to society.

2. Society has allowed certain sources of wealth to pass out of its hands, as, for example, the site value of lands, the monopoly value of licensed premises, the special value of franchises, and, in Canada, a large proportion of the immensely valuable natural resources. These sources of wealth have been transferred as property to individuals and corporations, very often without adequate consideration, and have been sold in the markets in the belief that they stood, and would stand, on the same basis in law as other property. For society to insist upon taking back its full rights would be a great hardship to the owners and would cause a panic in the industrial world.

3. What society can do, and should do, is to legislate so as gradually to shift taxation from the wealth due to individual enterprise to the wealth that is derived from the people's collective progress, thus regaining by degrees the ownership of the fruits of its own collective work, commonly known as *unearned increment*; this can be done by placing a gradu-

ated tax on inherited wealth going to wife, children, or parents, with a higher rate for more remote heirs, and a graduated super-tax on incomes exceeding a man's maximum productive earnings.

4. Every citizen, as a member of society, should have a share in the taxes so raised. This share should be for support in times of misfortune, sickness, or worklessness, whether due to economic disorganization, or to incapacity, or to old age. His children's share is state-provided education. These shares are liens on the social surplus, and, if government finances were managed as they should be, they would not infringe upon the income of other individuals, and any man who goes through life on his individual earnings, plus his share of the social inheritance, is to be justly regarded as self-supporting. Justice ends and charity begins when a man draws more than his share from his social inheritance. But if the government, as trustees for the people, betrays the trust and allow the people's inheritance to be squandered, can the man be called a pauper who is forced by necessity to call for his portion of what should be, but is not in the treasury?

5. Systems of taxation—

- (1) Single tax;
- (2) Income tax;
- (3) General tax.

6. Single tax—Taxation of site value—that is, the market value of the situation of land, irrespective of its improvements—land includes natural resources and public franchises, as they have a permanent site or privilege value.

7. Arguments for Single Tax—

- (1) It is simple—easy to value correctly—cannot be evaded, for the land can be seen and the owner easily found;
- (2) It stimulates production—if a man builds a factory, brings to the city a valuable industry and high-salaried artisans, the value of all the land around the factory will be raised because of this man's enterprise; single tax encourages the industry and taxes the owners round about who enjoy increased values, due solely to the factory-man's thrift;
- (3) Railways, telephone lines, gas-pipe lines, and street car lines should be taxed on their franchise value, distinct from that of equipment. The franchise value of a railway across a Province over which trains may be run at a high rate of speed is of far greater value than that of the right-of-way for farming purposes—it is the same with other franchises;
- (4) All values accruing from land due to the growth of society, and all values accruing from land due to special privileges or exclusive uses are value on which single tax should be levied—it is thus a just tax.
- (5) Single tax does not tax capital nor the product of labour, nor does it put a burden upon any class;
- (6) Single tax levied on land site value, franchises, and monopolies must be borne directly or indirectly by all in fair proportion.

8. Arguments against Single Tax—

- (1) Everyone escapes who does not own land or a franchise;

- (2) The size of unearned increment is exaggerated—other forms of unearned increment not included;
 - (3) Single tax prevents expansion—causes congestion—puts high buildings on small areas so as to save taxes.
 - (4) All manufacturing enterprises, professional men, insurance companies, loan companies, banks, stock-brokers, etc., are exempt.
 - (5) The landowners pay the taxes, but all classes will assess them, because the Legislature is elected by taxpayers and non-taxpayers alike.
9. Income Tax—a graduated tax on all net incomes.
10. Arguments in favour of Income Tax—
- (1) Any other system is inadequate as a revenue producer and not elastic enough to meet the demands of critical times;
 - (2) Income tax is reliable—the government can depend upon collecting it;
 - (3) Income tax is equitable—the burden of it falls in proportion to the ability of the man to pay.
11. Arguments against Income Tax—
- (1) Income tax is impracticable; self-assessment is not reliable; assessment at the source is not possible in many cases, as various incomes have no tangible source.
 - (2) Incomes from corporations, which comprise a preponderance of a nation's wealth, cannot be reached, for corporation profits are not always declared in dividends—corporation books often conceal the company's true profits.

12. General Tax—a tax levied on land, improvements, and personal property.
13. Arguments in favour of General Tax—
 - (1) General system sound in principle, because all should be taxed according to their ability to pay, and ability to pay is based on benefits received.
 - (2) Wealth exists in many forms. Why should one only be selected for taxation?
14. Arguments against General Tax—
 - (1) Its complexity and cumbersomeness require intricate and complicated machinery, numerous tax-collectors, and occasionally enormous expense;
 - (2) Production is checked by taxing wealth as it is used as capital—labour as it is exerted;
 - (3) The general tax is unjust because easily evaded, easily shifted; it is double taxation;
 - (4) The value of national personal property exceeds that of real estate, yet not more than 15 per cent. of the taxes come from personal property;
 - (5) If improvements are taxed and the premises rented the tax is shifted to the tenant.

TOPICS FOR CONVERSATION

- (a) Road drags.
- (b) Should churches advertise?
- (c) The mother as premier in the home.
- (d) Plans for a house.
- (e) The best thing in the community.
- (f) 'Outside work for women.
- (g) How to prepare a lunch.

- (h) The children as partners.
- (i) The rural telephone.
- (j) Disposal of straw.
- (k) The municipal rink.
- (l) Making good bread.
- (m) Knockers sift sand into the gearing of progress.
- (n) The patriot is sometimes a rebel.
- (o) Being a help to your country.
- (p) How to run a furnace.
- (q) Life is worthy of our faith.
- (r) A boy is entitled to the development of his own personality.
- (s) Money-making for women.

CHAPTER VII

REMEDIES FOR THE EVILS OF SOCIETY AND DEVICES FOR SECURING GOOD GOVERNMENT

Among the modern remedies suggested for the cure of the evils of society and for the removal of the obstacles to good government, the following are worthy of notice:

Nihilism has for its object the destruction of the existing form of government, without any definite theory of another government to take its place. It is more particularly applied to the principles of a secret organization of the people of Russia for the acquisition of political freedom.

Revolutionary Anarchism is upheld by those who announce themselves as enemies of all society, and who would reconstruct the state by the aid of dynamite, while the milder class, who may be called Philosophic Anarchists, desire to get rid of the defects of government by getting rid of government itself, that is to say, by leaving men entirely alone, without any coercive control, trusting to their natural good instincts to restrain them from harming one another. In such a state of things there would be no citizenship properly so called, but only the isolation of families, or perhaps of individuals, an isolation more or less qualified by brotherly love. We are so far at present from a prospect of reach-

ing the conditions needed for such amelioration, that it is enough to note this view and pass on.

Syndicalism is a form of union of labour unions, aiming at the abolition of the capitalist system, which its followers claim is based upon the exploitation of the workers. It does not purpose to accomplish its results through political activity by means of legislation, but by the direct action of the workers in the industrial world, the principal forms of which action are soldiering, boycotting, striking, and sabotage. It proposes to replace the capitalist system by a new social order, free from class domination. The distinctive feature of its ideal is that in this new social order the political state will not exist, the only form of government being the administration of industry directly by the workers themselves. The following extract from the declaration of principles of the Industrial Workers of the World, who are Syndicalists, is worthy of note:

“The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

“Between these two classes a struggle must go on, until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production,

when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

A diametrically opposite cure for the existing evils of society comes from those who are commonly termed Socialists. Socialism consists of so widely enlarging the functions of government as to commit to it not only all the work it now performs, of defending the country, maintaining order, enacting laws, and enforcing justice between man and man, but also the further work of producing and distributing commodities.

As far as one can discern any common ends, Socialists want to abolish private property in land, mines, railways, canals, factories, shops, etc.; in fact, they object to private ownership of any of the many forms of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth. They would nationalize all these things, that is, they would make the state the universal landlord, owner, and employer. No one should work more than eight hours a day, and to every worker should be guaranteed a minimum wage. The amassing of fortunes would be rendered impossible, and everybody would be pensioned off comfortably if disabled, or upon attaining a moderate old age. These are approximately the ideals of the thorough-going Socialists, and they assure us that if the state were the universal employer and landlord, we should no longer be troubled with labour disputes and strikes, but that everyone would be eager to work for the common good.

Under this system two of the hindrances to good citizenship would be much reduced. There ought to be less indifference to politics when everybody's interest in the management of public concerns had immensely increased by the fact that he found himself dependant on the public officials for everything. Nobody could plead that he was occupied by his own private business, because his private business would be banished. So, also, selfish personal interest in making gains out of government must needs disappear, when private property itself had ceased to exist. Whether, however, self-interest might not still find means of influencing public administration in ways beneficial to individuals, and whether personal selfishness might not be even more dangerous under such conditions in proportion to the extended range and power of government—this is another question, which need not be discussed till some definite scheme for the allotment of work and of remuneration, if any, shall have been propounded.

Collectivism is a mild form of Socialism.

Communism is the absorption of all proprietary rights in a common interest, an equitable division of labour, and the formation of a common fund for the supply of all the wants of the community. It is the doctrine of common ownership of property in opposition to individual rights in property.

We may proceed from these suggestions for the extinction or reconstruction on new lines of the existing social and political system to certain devices for improving the structure and methods of government, which have been advanced as likely to help the

citizen discharge his duties more efficiently—proportional representation, compulsory voting, initiative and referendum.

The methods of securing proportional representation, while varying in detail, range themselves under two heads—the single transferable vote and the system of lists. The single transferable vote was proposed by Hare in 1857 and was supported by John Stuart Mill. Originally it was proposed to treat the whole country as a single constituency, but later advocates have recommended the application of the system to constituencies of more moderate size, such as counties and large cities. The mechanism and advantages of the method will best be understood by comparison with the existing system. Suppose the city of Winnipeg to be at present divided into seven single-member constituencies, with the result that the majority in each of these constituencies secures a representative, while the minority in each case is unrepresented. Suppose there are in Winnipeg 40,000 Conservative, 20,000 Liberal, and 10,000 Labour voters. It might easily happen, especially if gerrymandered, that the Conservatives would be in a majority in each of the seven divisions, and, if so, the 40,000 Conservative electors would obtain the seven seats, and the remaining 30,000 voters none. Now, if Winnipeg had 40,000 Conservative voters, and no Liberal or Labour voters, the city would be entitled to four Conservative representatives. But because the city has 20,000 Liberal and 10,000 Labour voters, the Conservatives get three more representatives, thus not only dis-

franchising the Opposition, but penalizing them. The transferable vote would enable these 70,000 citizens to group themselves into seven sections of equal size, each returning one member, so that there would be four Conservative groups returning four members, two Liberal groups returning two members and one Labour group returning one member, and this is the ideal representation of such a community.

In order to achieve this result several changes in electoral mechanism are required. In the first place, Winnipeg, instead of being divided into seven constituencies, must be polled as one constituency. Otherwise the necessary grouping could not take place. This change is not in itself sufficient, because if Winnipeg were polled as one constituency electing seven members, and if each elector could give, as with the "block" vote, one vote apiece to seven candidates, the largest party would win all the seats. It is, therefore, necessary, however many may be the number of members to be elected, to limit the voting power of each elector to one vote. A result of this limitation is that if a group numbering 10,000 electors concentrates its support upon one man, then the group is certain of returning that candidate, because not more than six equally large groups can be formed out of the remaining electors. With open voting the grouping of electors would be arranged with comparative ease, for if more electors than were sufficient to constitute one group desired to vote for a particular candidate, those who arrived late at the poll could be asked to give their votes to

another candidate, and so help to build up another group of the requisite number. Or if a candidate was receiving so little support that he had no chance of election, the small group that had gathered around him could be disbanded, and these electors, instead of having their votes wasted, could make their selection from among the other candidates available. In this ways seven groups could be formed, each of which would obtain a representative.

As, however, the ballot is secret and the result of the voting is not known until the close of the poll, some provision must be made to facilitate the equal grouping of the electors, upon which their fair representation depends. This will be made clear by an example. If Sir Robert Borden were one of the Conservative candidates for Winnipeg, the group of voters who would record their votes for him would probably considerably exceed the number required for his election. His Conservative colleagues might, in consequence, find themselves left without adequate support, and the party might fail to secure its fair share of the representation. In order to prevent a mischance of this kind the very simple device has been adopted of making the vote transferable. Continuing the example already given, an elector who desired to vote for Sir Robert Borden would place on the ballot paper the figure "I" against his name. If, in addition, he placed the figures "2", "3", etc., against the names of other candidates in the order of his choice, these figures would instruct the returning officer, in the event of Sir Robert Borden obtaining more votes than

were necessary to secure his election, as to whom the vote was to be transferred. The votes given to Sir Robert Borden in excess of the number required for his election would thus be rendered effective. If, on the other hand, an elector had recorded his vote for a candidate who, after all excess votes had been transferred, was found to be at the bottom of the poll, the returning officer would similarly give effect to the wishes of the elector as recorded on his ballot paper, by transferring the vote to the elector's second choice, so that the vote would not be wasted, but would be used in building up a group sufficiently large to merit representation.

The ideas which have led up to the single transfer vote are, therefore, of a simple character. Constituencies returning several members are formed. A representative is given to every group of electors which attains to a definite proportion of the whole, the proportion depending upon the number of members to be returned. If a candidate receives more votes than are sufficient, that is, if too large a group is formed, the surplus votes are transferred. If, after all surplus votes have been transferred, there still remain more candidates than there are vacancies, the lowest candidate on the poll is eliminated from the contest, or, in other words, the smallest group is disbanded. The transfer of surplus votes, and of votes recorded for candidates lowest on the poll, are all carried out in accordance with the wishes of the electors, as indicated by them on the ballot paper at the time of the poll. The proportionate representation of all the electors is secured. Each party ob-

tains the number of members to which it is entitled.

A question will at once occur to the reader as to the application of these simple rules. How is the number of votes required for success to be determined? The number of votes necessary to secure the election of a candidate is called the "quota". At first sight it would seem that this number should be ascertained by dividing the number of votes by the number of vacancies, but a smaller proportion is sufficient. Thus, in a single-member constituency, a candidate has no need to poll all the votes. It is evident that if he polls more than one-half he must be elected. No other candidate can equal him. The "quota" in this case, therefore, is one more than one-half. So in a two-member constituency, the "quota" is one more than one-third, for not more than two candidates can poll so much; in a three-member constituency, one more than one-quarter, and so on. In general terms, the "quota" is ascertained by dividing the votes polled by one more than the number of seats to be filled, and adding one to the result.

The questions as to the manner in which the surplus votes are to be distributed, and the order in which the elimination of unsuccessful candidates shall proceed are important, but the answers would be too lengthy to be taken up here.

In the list, or block, system may be found the general ticket, the limited vote, the cumulative vote, and the dual simultaneous vote.

Under the general ticket method each constituency elects several members. Each elector has as many

votes as there are members to be elected, and those candidates are declared elected whose votes stand at the head of the list. In this way the majority party gets the entire list, and the minority is wholly unrepresented. But the system usually results in the election of abler men than the district system, for a party, in making nominations for a large area, cannot afford to select obscure men of mediocre ability. Another application of the general ticket is to have large districts with a number of representatives who are elected on a general ticket by a majority, or plurality, vote. In this method the majority wins the whole ticket, and the minority is generally represented in the Legislature about as equitably as on the district system.

The limited vote is intended to give the minority party a limited, though not a proportional, representation. It consists in giving the elector a less number of votes than there are members to be elected, as, for example, giving each elector two votes only where there are three members to be elected. This method creates an artificial representation of the two dominant parties, shuts out minor parties and independent movements altogether, and affords full scope for the development of machine politics.

The cumulative vote consists in giving the elector as many votes as there are representatives to be elected, but he is allowed to distribute them among the candidates of one or all parties, or to cumulate them upon one or more candidates; or he may cast one vote only for each of his favourite individual candidates, and give all his unused votes for the

party ticket to which his favourite candidate belongs. He does this by making a simple cross in the space at the head of the ticket. The cumulative vote with the "free ticket" amendment remains no longer a vote only for candidates as individuals. It contains a two-fold significance, and becomes what is called the dual simultaneous vote. In the first place, it is a vote for the party list as such, and is used for the purpose of determining the proportion of seats to be allotted to the lists, and in the second place, it is a vote for a particular candidate, or order of candidates, for the purpose of ascertaining which of those included in a list shall be declared successful. This double function of the vote is characteristic of all list systems of proportional representation. Other changes of a subsidiary character have been adopted in different countries, so that the various systems differ in detail in the methods, both by which seats are apportioned among the competing lists, and by which the successful candidates are chosen.

The reader is referred to any standard work on proportional representation for further information on this important subject.

Compulsory voting does not furnish an outlet for independence. In two recent elections in the Swiss canton of Zurich, with a compulsory voting law applying to two communes, 21 per cent. to 24 per cent. of the ballots were blanks, while in the communes without the compulsory law, 17 per cent. to 20 per cent. were blanks. The margin of mobile voters who change from one party to another is

seldom more than 5 per cent. of the maximum total vote. A compulsory vote might possibly change this proportion slightly, but it could do no more than substitute one machine for another. The real problem is not how to compel unwilling electors to vote, but how to get them to vote willingly, and how to give effect to the votes of those who are willing.

The principles of Direct Legislation, through the use of the Initiative and Referendum, are fairly well understood throughout Western Canada, so that it is not necessary to do more than to refer to the very excellent results that are being obtained in the Province where Direct Legislation has been adopted.

There may be some doubt as to whether, under our constitutional form of government, a Provincial Legislature has the power to enact that, on receiving the assent of the electors, a bill shall become law without being passed by the Legislature. The constitutionality of the Manitoba Act will be ascertained by reference to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council before it is brought into force.

The Alberta Act, which is an adaptation of the Wenitka system, under which the governing power agrees to pass any bill which has been submitted to and endorsed by the electors, appears to be well within the legislative powers of the Province.

1. Name some of the remedies for the evils of society advanced by modern organizations. 2. Define Nihilism. 3. What form of government prevails in Russia? 4. Why has Nihilism a destructive attitude towards Russian institutions? 5. What are the Nihilists striving for? 6. Give reasons for the belief that the people of Russia will have more freedom in the near future. 7. Distinguish between

revolutionary anarchy and philosophic anarchy. 8. How do the philosophic anarchists propose to remedy the defects of government? 9. What do the anarchists depend upon for the success of their system? 10. Define syndicalism. 11. How does it propose to accomplish its results? 12. Discuss the various forms of direct action of the workers advocated by syndicalism. 13. Outline briefly the principles of the I. W. W. 14. Define Socialism. 15. In what way is Socialism opposed to Syndicalism? 16. Give some of the best features of Socialism and some of its bad features. 17. How would Socialism affect the citizen's interest in government? 18. Would Socialism do away with the personal, selfish interests of individuals? 19. Show how Socialism is only a theory, until a definite scheme for the allotment of work and remuneration shall have been propounded. 20. What are the basic objections to Socialism? 21. What is Collectivism? 22. What is Communism? 23. Discuss the merits and demerits of Communism. 24. Mention some devices for improving the structure and methods of government. 25. What is meant by proportional representation? 26. Name the two methods of securing it. 27. Explain the simple transferable vote. 28. Show by reference to the supposed case of Winnipeg how the district system is unfair. 29. Show how, under the district system, with three candidates, the elected member often represents less than 50 per cent. of the total vote, or is, in other words, a minority representative. 30. Show how under the proportional representation system no votes are wasted. 31. How is the number of votes required for success to be determined under the proportional representation system? 32. How are the surplus votes to be distributed? 33. What is meant by the list or block system? 34. Explain the general ticket. 35. What advantage has the general ticket over the district system? 36. Explain the limited vote and its effects. 37. What is meant by the cumulative vote and the dual simultaneous vote? 38. Show how the use of the cumulative vote, with the "free ticket" amendment, is suitable for use in obtaining proportional representation. 39. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of compulsory voting. 40. What is meant by the initiative, and by the referendum? 41.

Explain the system of direct legislation in force in the Provinces of Alberta and Manitoba.

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "It is difficult to express the condemnation rightly belonging to so iniquitous a practice as the gerrymander; but its enormity is not appreciated, because both parties practise it, and neither can condemn the other. If representatives are to be elected on the district system, there must be some public authority for outlining the constituencies. It would be absurd to expect a political party to pass an Act giving the advantage of the inequality in constituencies to the opposite party, so we have the gerrymander, by which the country is divided into districts in such a way that there will be a large number of constituencies giving the party in power small majorities, and a small number of constituencies in which the Opposition is hived, giving them overwhelming majorities. Thus government ceases to be a national representative body and becomes a minority domination, and very often a minority domination of bribable voters who hold the balance of power. The great disproportion in the relative size of the majority and minority in the House, as compared with their relative strength in the country, is a subject for careful consideration. In a number of contests, with three or more candidates in the field, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes has been elected, though he received less than one-half the votes recorded. Thus we have minority, instead of majority, representation.

“Proportional representation makes bribery fruitless and destroys the effect of the gerrymander.

“It is a principle in elective constituencies that the larger the area, the more distinguished and capable are the candidates of all parties.

“It is only the fear of wasting their votes on good men who have no chance of winning under the present system which deters the people from voting against the bad candidate forced upon them by the regular machine.”

1. In what way is the gerrymander dangerous to democracy? 2. Show how the district system may become a minority domination. 3. Should a candidate with the largest vote in a three-cornered contest be declared elected, when he has less than one-half of the total votes polled? 4. If not, what course should be taken to give the constituency a member? 5. How many constituencies in your Province have as members men who did not receive one-half the total vote recorded? 6. How can the will of the majority be ascertained, if members are elected who represent a minority only of the electors? 7. Show how proportional representation makes bribery fruitless. 8. Explain how proportional representation would prevent minority representation. 9. What effect on the gerrymander would proportional representation have? 10. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having large constituencies with several members, without proportional representation? With it? 11. Does the fact that it is almost hopeless to oppose the party machine candidate under the district system cause indifference among good citizens? 12. Is a government always as good as the people desire and deserve? 13. If parties oppose proportional representation, how can the people get it?

(2) “Sabotage is a furtive and stealthy policy practised by individual workers, having for its aim the obstruction of industry and business to such an extent that the employers will suffer a loss of profits

so great as to be compelled to grant the workers' demands."

1. Discuss the principle, or lack of principle, involved in sabotage. 2. Is a workman ever justified in remaining in a position, drawing his wages, and at the same time doing all he can to injure his employer's business? 3. How should the state deal with workers who, in their war against the employers, do illegal and criminal acts, such as tampering with switches or signals on railways? 4. Are you in favour of compulsory arbitration?

(3) "The lobby is a feature of representative government. Its influence is coincident with the very recent growth of large private corporations. It is organized by them. They have such immense interests at stake on the turn of legislation that their lobby, with unlimited resources at its disposal, is almost irresistible. The lobby alone is not responsible for corrupt Legislatures, for very often corrupt Legislatures are responsible for the lobby."

1. What is meant by lobbying? 2. Why do corporations support the lobby system? 3. What are the duties of a lobbyist? 4. What are the sources of the influence of a lobbyist? 5. Why do the farmers generally get least consideration from the law-makers? 6. Mention some methods of reducing the influence of lobbyists.

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that it is part of the duty of a church to provide amusements.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. The church should not have regard to men's souls only, but should take the whole of human life into consideration and under its guardianship. It should provide for the needs of weekdays, as well as Sundays.

2. Amusement is an imperative necessity in these days of strain; and if the church does not provide amusement, it will be sought for from other agencies, usually at variance with the church's teaching.
3. The division between secular and sacred is merely artificial, and it is necessary for the church to discountenance only demoralizing and irrational entertainments—it might well promote all others.
4. The social instinct being divinely implanted, organized Christianity should provide for its gratification and seek to guide popular recreation into healthy channels.
5. Amusements are an excellent means of getting into touch with those over whom we wish to exercise a good influence.
6. If amusements are regarded by the church as contraband, the young will be repelled, and the masses of the people, whose lives are so much in want of being brightened, will be confirmed in their indifference to public worship.
7. Amusements exert a vast influence over life. Without them men would be sour and morose. In meeting together, for purposes of amusement, there is little room for asperities of temper, or for the selfish and mean rivalries of ordinary life.
8. A practical and sympathetic concern about the leisure hours of the members and adherents of their congregation should be one of the recognized duties of all pastors.

9. The brightening of dull or joyless lives is one of the plainest of Christian duties. When once the church has as a whole recognized it, no one will henceforth be able to say that they are kept away from religious bodies because of their dullness and monotony.
10. It is good for the church that it should be alive at all points. The secular knowledge and self-restraint that may be taught through amusement and at social gatherings are gains to the church. They make brighter homes, and focus the interest, as well as the devotion, of the people in the church.
11. Tradition, as well as reason, is on the side of the church making provision for rational amusement.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. The church's mission is to the souls of men. Its duty is to teach spiritual truths and bid men carry them into effect in their daily life. Amusements, however harmless, have nothing in common with this aim, and are, therefore, outside the sphere of the church.
2. The church should guard against the intrusion of a worldly spirit. Many people have been hindered, rather than helped, in their spiritual advancement by adhesion to a church which busied itself in the concerns of the world.
3. There are many different opinions as to what rational amusements are.

4. The time given to social companionship in the church must be taken from spiritual communion. The church, while leaving its members free to exercise their discretion in the employment of their leisure, should stamp with its authority no single amusement that may be a stumbling-block to any weak brother.
5. It is wrong to use such a bribe or decoy as amusement, in order to bring the frivolous or the indifferent to church.
6. Those who come to church because there is amusement to be found in connection with it, remain only so long as this attraction remains for them. You do not find such persons eager to attend the services that are held only for worship and purposes of spiritual communion.
7. Amusements may be a harmless relief to toil and sorrow, but the church offers other and better alleviations. Amusements as they are now carried on, with heat and excitement, are hardly to be distinguished from severe labour; envy, discontent, and jealousy are too often their results.
8. The best men in the church are already over-taxed by the multifarious nature of their duties. They are hustled out of their spirituality.
9. The church must set limitations to its duties. Just as it does not meddle with commerce, so it leaves worldly amusements to be provided for by other agencies. It is because the spiritual message of the church is unworthily preached

that there is slackness and indifference in the world.

10. The round of engagements, whether social gatherings, lectures, dramatic entertainments, or the like, takes young people out almost every night, and is leading to the break-up of family life.
11. Churches have erred over and over again in the vain attempt to serve both God and the world. Compromise has always ended in abuse.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

Chapter VII furnishes material for two interesting addresses, one on "Remedies for the evils of Society", and the other on "Proportional Representation". The outline for these addresses can easily be prepared from the text.

CHAPTER VIII

A CALL TO DUTY

One obvious expedient to which citizens may resort, and keep other citizens up to the mark, is to be found in the enactment and enforcement of stringent laws against breaches of public trust. Christianity has not yet gone far enough to enable any of us to dispense with the moral force law can exert, both directly through the penalties it imposes, and indirectly from the type of conduct which it exhorts the community to maintain. Laws may do much to raise and sustain the tone of all the persons engaged in public affairs, as officials or as legislators, not only by appealing to their conscience, but also by giving them a quick and easy reply to those who seek improper favours from them. If the prosecuting authorities and the courts do their duty unflinchingly, without regard to the social position or political standing of the offender, a statute may bring the practice of ordinary men up to the level of that collective conscience of the nation which it embodies. But the enactment of a law is not enough. It must be strictly enforced, procedure must be prompt, juries must be firm, sentences must be carried out, else the statute will become a record of aspiration rather than of accomplishment.

Yet it is from the heart and will of the citizens that all real and lasting improvement must proceed. In the words of the Gospel, it is the inside of the cup and platter that must be made clean. The central problem of civic duty is the ethical problem. Indifferences, selfish interests, the excesses of party spirit, will all begin to disappear as civic life is lifted to a higher plane. As the number of those standing on that higher plane goes on steadily increasing, they will come in time to form the majority of the people. We shall then have what is called the "better conscience" grafted on the "wild stock of the natural average man".

How is this to be done? The difficulty is the same as that which meets the social reformer, or the preacher of religion. One must try to reach the Will through the Soul. The most obvious way to begin is through the education of those who are to be citizens—moral education, combined with and made the foundation for instruction in civic duty. This is a work which the Swiss alone among European nations seem seriously to have undertaken. Here in Canada it has become doubly important, through the recent entrance into our community of a vast mass of immigrants, most of them ignorant of our language, still more of them ignorant, not only of our institutions but also of the general principles and habits of democracy. Most of them doubtless belong to races of high natural intelligence, and many of them have the simple virtues of the peasant. We are providing good schools for them, and their children will soon become Canadians in speech and

habits, quite patriotic enough, so far as flag-waving goes; but they will not so soon, nor so completely, acquire the Canadian intellectual and moral standard, or imbibe British historical and religious traditions. There is no fear but that they will quickly learn to vote. To some it may appear over-confident in entrusting foreign settlers with a power which most of them cannot yet have learned to use wisely. It is upon this ground that the Legislature would be justified in imposing an intelligence, if not an educational qualification for the suffrage, for ignorance goes very far towards depriving a man of an independent will and self-direction, and it seems unreasonable to allow ignorance equal political power with knowledge. However, the great task for Canadians must now be to teach those who have come to us from foreign lands to understand British institutions, to think about the vote they have to give, and to realize the responsibility which the suffrage implies, as these were realized by our forefathers who struggled for responsible government in the older provinces a century ago.

The responsibility for forming ideals and fixing standards does not belong to statesmen alone. It belongs, and, now, perhaps more largely than ever before to the intellectual leaders of the nation, to the teachers, writers, journalists, and community leaders, who are forming the mind of modern nations to an extent previously unknown. Here in Canada we have opportunities such as have existed never before, nor in any other country, for trying to inspire the people, and especially those who hold pub-

lic office, with a love of truth and honour, and a sense of the high obligations of citizenship. No other country makes so clear a call upon her citizens to work for her as ours does. Think of the wide-spreading results which good solid work produces on so vast a community, where everything achieved for good in one place is quickly known and may be quickly imitated in another! Think of the advantages for the development of the highest civilization which the boundless resources of Canada provide! Think of that principle of the Sovereignty of the People which has been carried further in Canada than it was ever carried before, and which requires and inspires, and, indeed, compels one to endeavour to make the whole people fit to bear a weight and discharge a task such as no other multitude of men ever undertook! Think of the sense of fraternity which binds us all together and makes it easier here than elsewhere for each citizen to meet every other citizen as an equal upon a common ground. Nature has done her best to provide a foundation whereon the fabric of an enlightened and steadily advancing civilization may be reared. As Professor Dole has pointed out, "We have seen magnificent cities rising on the borders of the streams, and pleasant villages dotting the hills; a flourishing commerce whitens the ripples of the lakes; the laugh of happy children comes up to us from the fields; and as the glow of the evening sun tinges the distant plains, a radiant and kindling vision floats upon its beams, of myriads of men escaped from the tyrannies of the Old World and gathered here in worshipping circles to pour

out their grateful hearts to God for a redeemed and teeming earth." It is for us to build upon that foundation. Free from many of the dangers that surround the states of Europe, we have unequalled opportunities for showing what a high spirit of citizenship—zealous, intelligent, disinterested—may do for the happiness and dignity of a mighty Dominion, enabling it to become what our forefathers hoped it might be—a model for other peoples more lately emerging into the sunlight of Freedom.

Surely all this is worth preserving. Surely we will not allow so rich a heritage to run waste. Surely we will support a nation whose past is bright with glorious achievements, and whose future glows with the light of a promise so radiantly beautiful. We need only remind you, therefore, that the truest and most useful citizens of our country are those who invigorate and elevate their nation by doing their duty truthfully and manfully; who live honest, sober, and upright lives, making the best of the opportunities for improvement that our land affords; who cherish the memory and example of the fathers of our country, and strive to make and keep it just what they intended it to be—a loyal, united Canada.

"Such be thy future; O, thou land of hope,
Where in the fear of God and love of home,
Thy people shall increase—O, may thy soil
Bear many a thinker, many a man of might,
Many a statesman fitted to control,
Many a hero, fitted to command.
Such may thy future be—not great alone,
In never-sated commerce—rather great
In all that welds a people heart to heart;

Among thy sons may many a leader spring,
 By whom the Ship of State well piloted,
 Thy haven of wide Empire thou may'st reach,
 An empire stretching from the western wave
 To where thy rosy dawn enflames the seas."

1. How should breaches of public trust be dealt with? Why? 2. In what two ways can law exert a certain moral force? 3. In what way may strict laws raise and sustain the tone of public officials and legislators? 4. Show how the strict enforcement of the laws may bring the practice of ordinary men up to the average collective conscience of the nation. 5. What are the evil effects of enactment without enforcement of laws? 6. How can the better conscience be grafted on the wild stock of the average man? 7. Show that man's rights are only opportunities, occasions, points of advantage, for the performance of duties. 8. Discuss—"Rights are the commanding positions in the field of duty—gained and held, the possessor is in a position to develop that side of his life represented by the individual, and also to develop the many qualities which are born and bred out of the performance of his duties of active citizenship as part of organic society." 9. In what country has moral education been made the foundation for instruction in civic duty? 10. Why is moral and civic instruction necessary in Canada? 11. How can the new settlers be taught the best Canadian intellectual and moral standards? 12. How can they be led to imbibe British historical and religious traditions? 13. Would the government be justified in imposing an intelligence qualification for the suffrage? 14. Upon whom must the bulk of the teaching of citizenship fall? 15. Give reasons why the call to duty is important at the present time. 16. If freedom is so priceless a boon that its existence has to be bought with the blood of thousands of our best men, is it not the solemn duty of every Canadian citizen to guard and cherish and extend that freedom? 17. What should be the ideal of every Canadian citizen? Will you be a community leader in the interests of democracy? 19. If you cannot be a leader, will you pledge yourself here and now to use your vote and influence to secure honest administration of public

affairs, to purify election methods, and to kill graft—the arch-enemy of Canadian democracy?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) “A strong community is a community full of life. A strong body is a body full of life. It has many members, and all members have not the same office. So with a community. It has more life in proportion as each of its component parts has more life, and as each gives in full measure its own particular contribution to the whole. We do not want to duplicate each other in sterile repetition; we want to supplement one another, each to give to the common stock what our brethren do not possess and cannot give. This is the value of diversity. If wisely handled, it means partnership and co-operation, and the whole, which includes such diversities, includes all the elements of life in their fullest vigour. Diversities may be, and must be, a danger to an empire in the making. This danger may be eliminated by crushing them out, but life and growth are crushed out with them. On the other hand, the danger may be risked and surmounted by wise statesmanship and practical good sense, with incomparably greater outcome for the future.”

1. State some of the advantages of diversities in a community. 2. Name some of the dangers of diversities to a nation in the making. 3. What is the result if the dangers are eliminated by crushing them out? 4. How may the dangers be surmounted? 5. Discuss the foregoing with reference to the diversities of soil, climate, means of transportation, products, and settlers of Western Canada.

(2) “Empires are not prizes to be knocked down to the highest bidder. They are trusts to be adminis-

tered by trained trustees. This training the English have had. They have accumulated a store of experience, of tradition, of precedents; they have learned, by place, as well as by time. It is not only that for three centuries they have been steadily going to school overseas, but that they have been learning their lesson among all sorts and conditions of men, in all sorts and conditions of lands and climates. They have been taught not only what to do, but what to abstain from doing, which is, perhaps, the more important lesson for those who wish their work to be of permanent value. They have gone through a very long apprenticeship, and a long apprenticeship is needed by nations who would build enduring structures beyond the seas."

1. State the qualifications of the British nation to be trustees of overseas dominions. 2. Show by reference to British rule in India, South Africa, and Canada that Britain has been taught not only what to do, but what to abstain from doing. 3. Give some of the causes of British success in administration beyond the seas.

GENERAL TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

"Public opinion in the old democratic sense is a myth; it must be made by strong individuals who recognize and represent evolutionary needs, otherwise it's at the mercy of demagogues, who play fast and loose with the prejudice and ignorance of the mob. The people don't value the vote, they know nothing about the real problems. So far as I can see, they are as easily swayed to-day as the crowd that listened to Mark Antony's oration about Caesar.

“Democracy’s an adventure—the great adventure of mankind. I think the trouble in many minds lies in the fact that they persist in regarding it as something to be made safe. All that can be done is to try to make it as safe as possible. But no adventure is safe—life itself is an adventure, and neither is that safe. It’s a hazard, as you and I have found out. The moment we try to make life safe we lose all there is in it worth while.

“In a way, the pessimists are right when they say we don’t see democracy. We see only what may be called the first stage of it; for democracy is still in a far country eating the husks of individualism, materialism. What we see is not true freedom, but freedom run to riot, men struggling for themselves, spending on themselves the fruits of their inheritance; we see a government intent on one object alone—exploitation of this inheritance in order to achieve what it calls prosperity.”

1. Have you read “A Far Country” by Winston Churchill? 2. Is it true that the people do not value their votes? 3. How many citizens in your community make a study of public problems? 4. Is it true that ignorance and prejudice govern citizens in public affairs? 5. Compare Winston Churchill’s strong individual with Carlyle’s “man of extraordinary understanding and strength”. 6. Why do we see only the first stages of democracy? 7. Distinguish between true freedom and selfish freedom. 8. Is it true that governments in Canada are exploiting our resources to gain a so-called prosperity?

(2) “The peasant in a fable, on his death-bed, tells his sons that a treasure is buried in the field. After the old man’s death the sons dig everywhere in order to discover the treasure. They do not find

it, but their indefatigable labour improves the soil, and secures for them a comparative well-being. The treasure in the fable may well symbolize democracy. Democracy is a treasure which no one will discover by deliberate search, but, in continuing our search, our labour to discover the undiscoverable, we shall perform a work which will have fertile results in the democratic sense."

1. In what respect does democracy resemble the buried treasure of the fable? 2. Show how ideal democracy is always advancing. As the old ideals are gradually realized, new ones appear, and this ideal democracy, like the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, is always in advance of its seekers. 3. Why do the benefits of democracy come to those who exercise their citizenship?

(3) "The democratic currents of history resemble successive waves. They break ever on the same shoal. They are ever renewed. This enduring spectacle is simultaneously encouraging and depressing. When democracies have gained a certain stage of development, they undergo a gradual transformation, adopting the aristocratic spirit, and, in many cases also, the aristocratic forms against which at the outset they struggled so fiercely. Now new accusers arise to denounce the traitors. After an era of glorious combats, and of inglorious power, they end by fusing with the old dominant class, whereupon once more they are in their turn attacked by fresh opponents, who appeal in the name of democracy. It is probable that this cruel game will continue without end."

1. In what respect do the democratic currents of history resemble waves breaking on a reef? 2. Is it true that governments go into power strongly democratic and gradu-

ally decline? Give examples from history. 3. Is it not equally true that an aroused people elect strong governments and then, by indifference, allow weakness and corruption to creep in, until the government becomes so notoriously bad that the people again assert themselves? 4. If so, what must the people do to have a good strong government all the time?

(4) "It would seem that by a wise constitution democracy may be made nearly as calm as water in a great artificial reservoir. But if there is a weak point anywhere in the structure, the mighty force which it controls will burst through it and spread destruction far and near."

1. What is the bulwark of democracy? 2. What would be the result, if the constitution were broken down?

(5) "Every reform has a lunatic fringe."

(6) "Every man is a quotation from all his ancestors."

(7) "Success means that the heart loves what the hand does."

(8) "We boast of our glorious future, while we obliterate our future's resources."

(9) "The worth of the state in the long run is the worth of the individuals composing it."

(10) "When tillage begins, other arts follow. The farmers, therefore, are the founders of human civilization."

(11) "When a man assumes a public trust, he should consider himself as public property."

(12) "That is the best government which desires to make the people happy, and knows how to make them happy."

(13) "God grants liberty only to those who love it and are always ready to guard and defend it."

(14) "Knowledge is the only fountain, both of the love and the principles of human liberty."

(15) "In no form of government is there an absolute identity of interest between the people and their rulers."

(16) "It cannot be too often repeated, until it comes into the currency of a proverb—'To innovate is not to reform.'"

(17) "The farmer voters guard the constitution. Selfish interests seek to split the vote and control the government in the interests of class legislation."

(18) "We are determined that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit from this life, we will die free men."

(19) "The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts, bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of the individual or party."

(20) "As soon as a party has gained its general point, each member becomes intent upon his particular interest, which, thwarting others, breaks that party into divisions and occasions confusion."

(21) "It is a great truth that there never was for a long time a corrupt representation of a virtuous people, or a mean, sluggish, careless people that ever had a good government of any form. Such as you are, sooner or later, must your Parliament be."

(22) "The fear of resistance, and the sense of shame operate in a certain degree on the most illiberal rulers. Nothing but the fear of resistance and the sense of shame preserves the freedom of the

most democratic communities from the encroachments of their delegates.”

(23) “The Puritans, who roused the people to resistance, who directed their measures through a long series of eventful years, who formed out of the most unpromising materials the finest army that Europe had ever seen, who trampled down king, church, and aristocracy, who made the name of England terrible to every nation on the face of the earth, were no vulgar fanatics.”

(24) “A ‘grafter’ at any time is a thief and a traitor. But he becomes a double traitor, and an aider and abettor of his country’s enemies, and a potential assassin of the brave lads who have gone out to fight his battles for him, when his ‘graft’ takes the form of reducing the quality of the equipment in which these lads are to face the enemy. When he steals in such a way as to make it possible that the poorer article supplied may result in exposing our soldiers to greater danger or more bitter hardship, he might as well steal cartridges from their pouches as they go into action—and, for such men, the penitentiary is too good!”

(25) “To do what we will is natural liberty. To do what we will consistently with the interests of the community to which we belong is civil liberty, the only liberty to be desired in a state of civil society. Natural liberty is the right of common upon a waste. Civil liberty is the safe, exclusive, unmolested enjoyment of a cultivated enclosure.”

(26) “Caxton’s press, in Westminster Abbey, rude as it is, ought to be looked at with quite as

much respect as the best constructed machinery that ever impressed the clearest type on the finest paper. It is thus that we ought to judge of the events and men of other times. They were behind us, but the question in respect to them is not where they were, but which way they were going. Did they exert themselves to help on the great movement of the human race, or to stop it?"

(27) "The burning pen of inspiration, ranging heaven and earth for a similitude to convey to our poor minds some not inadequate idea of the mighty doctrine of the resurrection, can find no symbol so expressive as 'bare grain, it may chance of wheat or some other grain'. To-day a senseless plant, to-morrow it is human bone and muscle, vein and artery, sinew and nerve, beating pulse, heaving lungs, toiling, ah, sometimes overtoiling, brain. Last June it sucked from the cold breast of the earth the watery nourishment of its distending sap-vessels, and now it clothes the manly form with warm cordial flesh; quivers and thrills with the five-fold mystery of sense, purveys and ministers to the higher mystery of thought. Heaped up in our granaries this week, the next it will strike in the stalwart arm, and glow in the blushing cheek, and flash in the beaming eye, till we learn at last to realize that the slender stalk which we have seen shaken by the summer breeze, bending in the wheat-field under the yellow burden of the harvest, is, indeed, the staff of life, and, since the world began, has supported the toiling and struggling myriads of humanity on the mighty pilgrimage of being."

(28) "I believe that the country which God made is more beautiful than the city which man made; that life out of doors, and in touch with the earth, is the natural life of man. I believe that work with nature is more inspiring than work with the most intricate machinery. I believe that the dignity of labour depends not on what I do, but on how I do it; that opportunity comes to a boy on the farm as often as to a boy in the city; that life is larger and freer and happier on the farm than in the town; that my success depends not upon my location but upon myself, not upon my dreams but upon what I actually do, not upon luck but upon pluck. I believe in working when I work, and in playing when I play, and in giving and demanding a square deal in every act of life."

(29)

"As some most pure and noble face,
Seen in the thronged and hurrying street,
Sheds o'er the world a sudden grace,
A flying odour sweet,
Then passing leaves the cheated sense
Balked with a phantom excellence.
So in our soul, the visions rise
Of that fair life we never led;
They flash a splendour past our eyes,
We start, and they are fled;
They pass and leave us with blank gaze,
Resigned to our ignoble days."

CHAPTER IX、

GOVERNMENT

Government in a democracy is the determinate body—the agency—the machine—selected by an agreeing majority to carry out the common will of the people. It is the ruling power in, and the executive organ of, society; it is the representative of organized public opinion.

Its essential characteristic is the sovereignty conferred upon it by the people. This sovereignty, or supreme power, is not inherent in government, but is with the people, in the people, and by the people—it is the people themselves. Government is a social organization of the people to which is delegated certain duties to be performed, and certain powers to be exercised, under well-defined rules and in accordance with those accepted general leading principles of organic law contained in what is called the Constitution. The delegation of these duties and powers carries with it the delegation of the necessary authority for their enforcement—authority backed by physical force in some nations as a first, in others as a last, resort.

As it would be impossible to have all the people meet together to pass laws, we elect members, each of whom represents the people of a constituency, and we call the system Representative Government.

As the government must be composed of men who possess to a lesser or greater degree traits, such as ignorance, prejudice, dishonesty, selfishness, avarice, love of power, etc., we define and limit the duties and power of the governing body, in order to secure liberty and protection to the individual citizen, by the application of the fundamental laws of the constitution, and this we call Constitutional Government.

As the Premier, or Prime Minister, is chosen from the party having a majority of members, and as he chooses his Ministers from that majority, the government can exist only so long as it has the confidence and support of the majority of the members, and the members can give that support only until the next election, unless they retain the confidence and support of the people at the election, and this we call Responsible Government.

As the head of the British government is a king, and as his powers are defined and restricted by the constitution, we call the form of government a Limited, or Constitutional, Monarchy, and as the crown descends from father to son, we call it a Hereditary Monarchy.

The government of Great Britain was not always a democracy. Her institutional, or unwritten, constitution, has been the evolution of centuries, her full measure of responsible government was not obtained until the time of the Georges, while her great advance towards representative government was made by the Reform Bill of 1832.

The duties and powers delegated to the government by the people may be divided into three departments, namely:

- (1) Legislative;
- (2) Judicial;
- (3) Executive.

Enough power should be delegated to the legislative branch to protect the people from foreign invasion, to suppress insurrection, to put down rebellion, and to levy taxes for the support of the government. The government, in the very nature of things, is a burden, and there should be only such expenses and taxation as are necessary. The citizen pays taxes as a just compensation for the protection as to person and property which he receives from the government. It is also the duty of this department to see that the money derived from taxation is judiciously granted to the various departments, so as to carry on the machinery of government and to execute the law. The law must require each citizen to use his own liberty so as not to infringe on the equal rights of his fellow-citizen. The law of self-use is a divine right, and must not be abridged, except to secure equal rights to others, and it is equally true that every citizen is entitled to "the fruits of his productive labour". This is also a divine right, and the powers of the government must protect the citizen fully to this extent.

When the Legislature has enacted laws to govern society it becomes the duty of the judicial branch to construe and apply the laws as enacted to each case, and to determine the application of the law. This

done, the legal right of the case becomes fixed, and the law of the case is known. It is the duty of the executive department to see that the law, as enacted by the legislative department and construed by the judicial department, is enforced. These departments constitute the machinery which completes and runs our government. Under ordinary conditions, if these three departments exercise the authorities delegated to government by the people in a just and proper manner, we have the end for which government was created—the protection of life, liberty, and property. If they usurp authority and commit acts which were never delegated to them, instead of preventing oppression, injustice, and tyranny, they become oppressors, and deserve the contempt of all self-respecting citizens.

When representation and taxation go hand in hand, when the hand that levies taxes pays taxes, when those who make the laws, construe the laws, and execute the laws are amenable to the laws as created, construed, and executed—then we have the keynote to liberty. Under any other system or condition the few become a class oligarchy, the recipients of favours and benefits, while the masses become objects for their plunder, for human nature is human nature in government as it is everywhere else, and is liable to be influenced by selfishness.

1. Define democratic government. 2. If a bad government is supported by a corrupt majority, what remedy have the people, prior to next election? 3. From what does democratic government derive its power, and how? 4. What is meant by sovereignty; constitution? 5. What is an institutional constitution? 6. What is the difference in

form between the English and United States constitutions? 7. What Act might be called the written Constitution of Canada? 8. Define representative government; constitutional government; and responsible government. Give examples of each. When were each introduced into Great Britain? 9. What classes of powers are delegated to government by the people? Define the duties and powers included in each class. 10. Why do not the people exercise their power of government direct? 11. Enumerate some of the legislative powers of the government. 12. What benefits do people receive in consideration of the payment of taxes? 13. Quote examples showing how a citizen may be deprived of some of the fruits of his labour by unwise legislation. 14. Explain what is meant by "no taxation without representation"? 15. Define oligarchy and ochlocracy. 16. Is it true "that the country voters are the safest guardians of constitutions"? Give reasons for your reply. 17. Give reasons why the big interests endeavour to split the country vote at election time.

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "The depositary of power is always unpopular. All combine against it. It always falls. Power was in the Great Barons—the Church, using the King, crushed the Barons; power was in the Church—the King, bribing the Parliament, plundered the Church; power was in the King—the Parliament, using the people, beheaded the King, expelled the King, and finally substituted the Prime Minister for the King. From what quarter will the next great consumer arise?"—*Disraeli*.

1. It is not true that the power was in the people before the barons usurped it, and that, after years of conflict, it was regained by the people, to whom it properly belongs?
2. Name some of the influences that are constantly being used to deprive the people of their powers of government.
3. Mention some of the methods employed to get control

of the government, and give reasons why such control is sought. 4. Describe some of the ways in which citizens aid the enemies of their country in their schemes against the interests of the people. 5. Is the following true?—"The absence of any power outside the Cabinet, which, by dissolving Parliament, can compel an appeal from the Cabinet to the nation, is the greatest flaw in our constitution, and, if not made good, will some day lead to serious disaster."

(2) "A power has risen up in the government greater than the people themselves, consisting of many and various and powerful interests combined into one mass and held together by the cohesive power of public plunder."

1. Is the foregoing applicable to Canada? 2. Have the Ministers in our Dominion and Provincial Cabinets too much power? 3. Compare the power of the Ministers with that of the caucus in fixing the policy of the government.

(3) "The business of government is not directly to make the people rich, but to protect them in making themselves rich, and a government which attempts more than this is precisely the government which is likely to perform less. Governments do not and cannot support the people. They have no miraculous powers; they have not the rod of the Hebrew law-giver; they cannot rain down bread on the multitude from heaven; they cannot smite the rock and give them to drink; they can give them only freedom to employ their industry to the best advantage, and security in the enjoyment of what the industry has acquired."—*Macaulay*.

1. From what source does a provincial government derive revenue? 2. Mention some of the ways in which this revenue is spent. 3. What is meant by "the costs of running the machine"? 4. Distinguish between capital expense and current expense. 5. What are some of the

tests of an economical government? 6. For what purposes is a government justified in borrowing money? 7. Distinguish between costs of construction and costs of maintenance in the application of loan funds. 8. Is there a tendency on the part of communities in Western Canada to rely too much on government aid? 9. Mention some of the methods by which a government can protect the people in their endeavours to accumulate wealth.

(4) "The day will come when, in the United States, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will chose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue, ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne, and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working-man who hears his child cry for bread? There is nothing to stop it. The Constitution is all sail, no anchor."—*Macaulay*.

Criticize the foregoing prophecy of Macaulay.

(5) "If the working-man is politically independent, is he not likely to use his voting power to secure his economic independence? What was the Reformation but a religious revolution? What was the great upheaval in France but a social and political revolution? These might have been avoided had Rome, in the one case, and Monarchy in the other, been less anxious about their rights, and more anxious about

their duties. Let the capital class take warning. Unless they give greater prominence to their duties, and be less anxious about their rights, they will bring on another revolution—an economic revolution. It will be bloodless. It will be fought with political weapons, but before it is over it will shake the industrial world to its foundations.”

Mention some of the ways in which the Great War now being waged will produce results that will materially affect both capital and labour.

(6) “Ask of politicians the end for which laws were originally designed, and they will answer that the laws were designed as a protection for the poor and weak against the oppression of the rich and powerful. But surely no pretense can be so ridiculous; a man might as well tell me he has taken off my load because he has changed the burden. If the poor man is not able to support his suit according to the vexatious and expensive manner established in civilized countries, has not the rich as great an advantage over him as the strong has over the weak in the state of nature?”

Discuss the foregoing, having in view: (a) That “equality before the law” is one of the inalienable rights of man; (b) that “justice should not be sold or delayed” is one of the primary principles established by the Great Charter; (c) conditions in Western Canada.

SUBJECT FOR A DEBATE

Resolved, that one of the primary principles of democracy, namely, that justice should be rendered to every man, cannot be carried out in Canada under present laws and conditions.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. Man and society exist under a system of mutual obligations. A man gives up some of his liberties and pays his taxes to the state in exchange for, among other things, protection to life and property. If, to get this protection, he is called to put up costs and fees in advance and cannot do it, he is deprived of his rights by the very authority that is pledged to protect them.
2. Money commands legal talent, and the well-to-do litigant, by the use of his money, gains an advantage over his less fortunate fellow-citizen.
3. The rich man, by the use of money, can engage eminent counsel, who, by taking advantage of objections and appeals, can not only prevent the poor man from getting justice, but can also mortgage his future with a judgment for costs.
4. Rich corporations and trusts, by the use of wealth, secure advantages that are an injustice to the people generally.
5. The highest legal ability should not be at the disposal of the rich only. Some of the best lawyers in every Province should be employed and paid by the government to advise poor citizens in civil matters, and to conduct their cases at the expense of the Crown in the first instance, where necessary in the interest of justice and equality before the law.
6. Imprisonment in default of payment of a fine is not just to a poor man. He should be allowed bail and to pay his fine by instalments.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. The government provides the machinery for the administration of justice, and leaves the individual to take advantage of this machinery.
2. It would be impossible for the state to take sides in a dispute between men over private affairs.
3. The government provides for, and pays the costs, of the defence of a poor man accused of a capital offence, where the state prosecutes.
4. A poor man is not generally fined as heavily as a rich man for similar offences.
5. If men are ignorant or foolish they must suffer the consequences.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

GOVERNMENT

1. Man is a gregarious animal—adapted for society—each individual has rights—society as a whole has rights—some power necessary to define and protect these rights, hence government.
2. Man is controlled by two forces: (a) Internal—moral and intellectual faculties; (b) external—forces that government exercises over him for the protection of the social body against his acts.
3. In the early stages of development external forces—compulsion—coercion—are necessary, with penalties ranging from fines to capital punishment. Men are thus deterred from committing offences or crimes through fear of the

punishment that follows conviction. Compulsory laws are valuable where outward conformity is valuable. The limit to the value of coercion lies in the fact that, spiritually, everything depends not on what is done, but on the will with which it is done. As a rule, the right to external order belongs to the community. If the individual is injured, he has the right of protest.

4. As man rises in the scale of intelligence and morality, the internal forces increase, and the necessity for external forces decreases—the forms and conditions of government must, therefore, be adapted to the status of the people.
5. Agencies that tend to the uplift of a nation—
 - (1) Religion—In the better sort of men there are two elementary convictions, that there is over all things an unsleeping, inflexible, all-ordering, just power, and that this power governs the world by laws, which can be seen in their effects, and on the obedience to which, and on nothing else, human welfare depends.
 - (2) Education — develops intelligence and morality—Morality is the best security of law and the surest pledge of freedom, and religion is the safeguard of morality.
 - (3) Land Ownership—The ownership of land gives a man stability and independence. He has a direct interest in his government and devotes more attention to his duties as a citizen.
 - (4) Discoveries and Inventions—Tend to individual development, and to create new relations between individuals and with the

state. The harmonizing of these relations demands knowledge, tact, fairness, and generosity.

- (5) Industrial Evolution—Despite the croakings of pessimists the world is growing better—labour conditions are much improved—and governments are more humane, and legislation is more and more recognizing the needs of the people.
6. Different forms of government—theocracy; patriarchal; monarchy; aristocracy; democracy.
7. Explain what is meant by a democratic government.
8. Show that a democracy may exist under rulers with different titles, so long as the government is representative, constitutional, and responsible, thus securing supreme power in the people.
9. Mention some of the foes to democracy. State how they work, and how to defeat them.
10. Apply and illustrate the principles of democracy by reference to our own government.
11. Explain the important part that we as citizens must take under democratic government, and the result if we fail to do our duty.

MOTTOES FOR CLUBS OR OTHER SOCIETIES

1. Rest and be thankful.
2. The greatest good to the greatest number.
3. Free soil, free speech, free men.
4. Be sure you are right, then go ahead.
5. Make hay while the sun shines.
6. A clear conscience is a sure card.

7. Condemn the fault, not the man.
8. True as steel.
9. No legacy is as rich as honesty.
10. Men of few words are the best men.
11. Deeds, not words.
12. 'Tis madness to live like a wretch and die rich.
13. Be wise to-day.
14. We may do what has by man been done.
15. Remember that time is money.
16. Knowledge is more than equivalent to force.
17. There's a good time coming.
18. The reward of a thing well done is to have done it.
19. Justice is truth in action.
20. The secret of success is constancy to purpose.
21. Property has its duties as well as its rights.
22. We are living too much in a circle.
23. A good heart is better than all the heads in the world.
24. The success of any great moral enterprise does not depend on numbers.
25. Let knowledge grow from more to more.
26. One on God's side is a majority.
27. Bravery never goes out of fashion.
28. Force is no remedy.
29. Truth is within ourselves.
30. Every joy is gain.
31. 'Tis not what man does that exalts him, but what man would do.
32. Toil is the true knight's pastime.
33. Let us have peace.

34. He serves his party best who serves the country best.
35. While we read history we make history.
36. The great need of life is not knowledge, but action.
37. Veracity is the heart of morality.
38. Toil is the law of life, and its best fruit.
39. The living need charity more than the dead.
40. Honour lies in honest toil.
41. Good-will is the mightiest practical force in the world.
42. Men are used as they use others.
43. He that plants thorns must never expect to gather roses.
44. Fortune helps the brave.
45. It takes a long time to bring excellence to maturity.
46. No one knows what he can do until he tries.
47. Drive on your own track.
48. It is good to live and learn.
49. By the work one knows the workman.
50. The sign brings customers.
51. Love truth, but pardon error.
52. Great thoughts come from the heart.

FOR DISCUSSION

1. Resolved, that a system of old age pensions should be established in Canada.
2. Resolved, that capital punishment should be abolished.
3. Resolved, that strikes are justifiable.

4. Resolved, that charity organizations do more good than harm.
5. Resolved, that modern dress needs reform.
6. Resolved, that hospitals should be maintained and managed by the government.
7. Resolved, that the introduction of labour-saving machinery is not beneficial to the labouring classes.
8. Resolved, that all patents should be abolished.
9. Resolved, that Canadians are too fond of sport.
10. Resolved, that vaccination should be enforced by law.
11. Resolved, that canvassing at Parliamentary elections should be abolished.
12. Resolved, that modern education fails to develop character.
13. Resolved, that every man is the best judge of his own interests.
14. Resolved, that there should be a tax on bachelors.
15. Resolved, that we are over-legislated for.
16. Resolved, that ancient nations were more heroic than are those of modern times.
17. Resolved, that the inventor benefits mankind more than the reformer.
18. Resolved, that the Western Hemisphere is more richly stored and prepared by nature for the use of man than the Eastern.
19. Resolved, that the government and institutions of a people cannot long remain better than the people themselves.

20. Resolved, that the citizens should exercise individual judgment at elections, without regard to parties.
21. Resolved, that the American colonies were justified in rebelling against England.
22. Resolved, that the ownership of land should be restricted to those who personally cultivate it.
23. Resolved, that the execution of Charles I was justifiable.
24. Resolved, that prizes should not be offered in schools.
25. Resolved, that ambition has wrought more harm than good to mankind.
26. Resolved, that democracy is the best possible form of government.
27. Resolved, that life in the country is more favourable to human development than life in the city.
28. Resolved, that there should be an educational qualification for voting.
29. Resolved, that the farmer is a greater benefactor to the community than the manufacturer.
30. Resolved, that devotion to fashion is a greater evil than the tobacco habit.
31. Resolved, that military renown is not a fit object of ambition.
32. Resolved, that unanimity should not be required from juries.
33. Resolved, that private virtue is an essential requisite to greatness of public character.

34. Resolved, that the career of Napoleon Bonaparte was of greater benefit than evil to the world.
35. Resolved, that there should be a national law limiting the amount of a man's wealth.
36. Resolved, that the Canadian Senate should be abolished.
37. Resolved, that two centuries of livelihood from the soil, without building it up, will drive the people of Western Canada into extreme and depressing poverty.
38. Resolved, that women should be allowed to take up homesteads.
39. Resolved, that the time spent by a homesteader in attendance at an Agricultural College should be accepted by the government in lieu of residence on the land.
40. Resolved, that every rural community should provide for a supply of fresh meat in summer by the organization of a "beef ring".
41. Resolved, that weeds cause the country a great deal more loss than hail, frost, and drought combined.
42. Resolved, that Canadians waste enough each year to support the poor of the country.
43. Resolved, that carefully-selected seed would double the profits of the Canadian farmer.
44. Resolved, that the Western farmer buys too much that he should produce.
45. Resolved, that the best "back to the land" incentive is to enact legislation that will allow farming to be profitable.

46. Resolved, that real co-operation—in aims, views, votes, production, marketing, selling, and buying—is the basis of the farmers' prosperity.
47. Resolved, that legislation can and does deprive the farmer of a large share of his legitimate profits, through laws relating to the transportation, distribution, and transformation of what he produces.
48. Resolved, that Canadian people would be more prosperous if they followed the economic law, "Only the highest finished product should be placed on the market".
49. Resolved, that the farmer should get his raw materials—machinery, hardware, provisions, clothing, etc.—free of duty.
50. Resolved, that the harder the farmer works, the richer somebody else becomes.
51. Resolved, that if conditions make it more profitable to manipulate than to produce, why produce?
52. Resolved, that the government should own or control, and keep clear of obstructions, all the great avenues to the competitive markets of the world.
53. Resolved, that while the government is responsible for legislation, the people are responsible for the government.
54. Resolved, that there should be no more grants or guarantees to railways.
55. Resolved, that indirect taxation enables the powerful to put a burden on the weak.

56. Resolved, that in taxation a citizen should support his country in proportion to his capacity to support himself.
57. Resolved, that in farming, as in any other business, efficiency counts.
58. Resolved, that an automobile is a necessary part of an up-to-date farm equipment.
59. Resolved, that government hail insurance is the most satisfactory system.
60. Resolved, that a system of rural credit is necessary for the development of the West.
61. Resolved, that a member of the Legislature should be a representative, and not a delegate.
62. Resolved, that the position of Municipal Health Officer is more important than that of Secretary-Treasurer, and should command a higher salary.
63. Resolved, that the best soldier is he who realizes that it is his war, his regiment, his trench, and that his bullets count; that the best citizen is he who realizes that it is his home, his country, his fight, and that his ballot counts.
64. Resolved, that national duty comes before national well-being.
65. Resolved, that interest often smooths the road to faith.
66. Resolved, that only he who can obey is fit to rule.
67. Resolved, that churches should not be exempt from taxation.
68. Resolved, that the farmer buys too much in the line of canned goods and of ready-made meat.

69. Resolved, that a good government does not follow public opinion, but leads it.
 70. Resolved, that a farm dog is really needed.
 71. Resolved, that any party in power does not desire a strictly honest administration.
 72. Resolved, that communities of foreign settlers should have state-paid, trained teachers to visit the homes to give assistance and guidance.
 73. Resolved, that most of our governments are machine-made.
 74. Resolved, that every opportunity to think and decide for ourselves is an opportunity to become educated.
 75. Resolved, that the master-man is he who wrests his wealth from nature.
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REVIEW

CHAPTER I

1. Democracy—direct—representative.
2. Rights and duties—society—individual—citizens.
3. The average citizen.
4. The general will.
5. The citizen's influence—good—evil.

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1. What democracy requires of citizens.
2. Why democracy has not accomplished more.
3. Why the average citizen fails to do his duty.
4. Enemies of democracy.

5. Private virtues not a substitute for public duties.

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1. Causes of citizens' failure—
 - (a) Indolence;
 - (b) Personal self-interest;
 - (c) Extreme party spirit;
 - (d) Lack of patriotism;
 - (e) Corruption and bribery.
2. Necessity for community organization.

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1. Different forms of bribery and selfishness—
 - (a) Shifting the burden of taxation;
 - (b) Getting public works;
 - (c) Securing valuable franchises;
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 - (e) Big interests;
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1. Why every citizen should vote.
2. To rule, the people must be—
 - (a) Intelligent;
 - (b) Moral;
 - (c) Free;
 - (d) Patriotic;
 - (e) Conscientious;
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3. Benefits to a citizen who takes an active part in public affairs.

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1. Nihilism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, Socialism, Collectivism, Communism.
2. Proportional Representation—its meaning—its advantages.
3. Compulsory voting.
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5. Gerrymander.
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1. Treatment of those who betray a public trust.
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3. Who must do the training?
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5. A greater Canada demands better citizenship.

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1. Government—what it is.
2. Sovereignty of the people.
3. Representative Government.
4. Constitutional Government.
5. Responsible Government.
6. British Constitution.
7. Three branches of government.
8. Powers and duties of each.
9. Conditions that make for liberty.
10. Dangers that threaten Popular Government.

CHAPTER X

ANCIENT GOVERNMENT—GREECE

The oldest form of government, the patriarchal or family, rested on kinship as the bond of union, and the authority of the ruler was inbred, born of the habits, customs, religion, and traditions of the race, and which both ruler and subject were bound to observe. The two chief, formidable forces of society were kinship and religion, and religion at first was only the expression of kinship in the worship of ancestors. Religion thus became the sign and seal of the common blood, and any man who accepted the gods of a family as his gods became, by adoption, as much a member of the family as if born in it. The ancestor of the primitive man was a god of undying power; his spirit lived on to bless or to curse; his favour had to be propitiated, his anger appeased. It was no light matter to depart from the practices of such potent ancestral deities, and the following of the family customs from generation to generation gave rise to that reverence for precedent which marks the conservative citizen of the present day.

The original unit of social organization was the family. Later a number of families united into a house, a number of houses into a tribe, and a number of tribes into a state. The common

customs and habits retained, or evolved, existed by virtue of the common consent of the people. The great leading principles which underlie the common will of the people from the earliest periods of a nation down to the present time, expanding and adapting themselves to the progress of society and civilization, advancing and varying in development but still essentially the same in substance and in spirit, form what is known as the nation's Constitution. This constitution may be institutional, as in England, or written, as in the United States. An institutional constitution is a compact between the people and the Crown, created by custom and precedent, whereby the ruler permits certain customs and forms to prevail until they become the established rules of admitted justice, and henceforth become organic law—a constitution and a protection to the people.

The reign of customary law was long and decisive. The family was a despotism, and social life a formula that left no room for the play of individuality. The majority of mankind have remained stationary in one or another of the earliest stages of political development. Their laws give the early history of those nations which primitive custom did not stagnate. Stagnation has been the rule, progress the exception. The history of the greater part of the world shows by its laws and institutions what the rest of the world has escaped; that of the rest of the world shows what primitive practices can be developed into by adapting and amplifying them to meet the requirements of progress.

The great caste nations, such as India and China, which were insular, and in a sense isolated, which were not broken up by wars, which were peopled by stay-behinds of the great migrations towards the West, in which religion and politics remained one and inseparable, and individual standards of right and individual conscience and responsibility never existed, could not develop a capacity for self-government, and of necessity the masses became slaves, and the few, masters and rulers, despots.

How did it come about that some men became progressive, while most did not? The reasons can best be traced through the two indexes of character in the early groups of kinsmen, family organization and religion. In ancient times, as in these days, society was divided into the two omnipresent parties of history—the party of the Past and the party of the Future—the party of the Fact and the party of the Ideal—the Conservative and the Progressive. We have seen how India and China settled down to a safe stagnation of monotonous uniformity. But there was a favoured minority that migrated to the West. It is easy to imagine the transformation of the customs of these men caused by war, shifting scene, and changing conditions. It was the slow progress of advancing races. Its stages often lasted centuries; its delays were the source of new hopes and new aspirations.

Take, for example, the Greeks. After they had reached the Mediterranean, from the interior of Asia Minor, they began a new life on those fertile coasts. Slowly they acquired familiarity with

their new neighbour, the sea. They learned its moods—they imagined new gods breathing in its milder moods or thundering in its tempestuous winds. The Phœnicians, who were probably even an older migration from the East and who had been established for centuries, taught them navigation and shipbuilding, the use of weights and measures, the alphabet, and the rudiments of the arts and sciences. They became explorers, and, lured from island to island, they reached those later homes changed men, their hearts emboldened by adventure, their hands quick with a readier skill, their minds open to greater enthusiasm, and enriched with warmer imaginations—migration, conquest, imitation, competition, adoption, adaptation, all tended to free these hardy pioneers from the narrow restrictions of hard and fast customs. The times were rich with opportunity for those who had energy and enterprise. Individual initiative, when crowned with success, was allowed a voice, even as against immemorial custom. The ruler of the united house came to be chosen, not from the oldest, but from the wisest or the bravest of any of the families.

The state, or city, was at first simply the home of the ruler, who was priest, judge, and military commander over the confederate family chiefs, and the seat of common worship and trade of the families living around it. It contained the temples of the gods, and saw the festivals, the sacrifices, the councils, the courts, and the armed gatherings of the people. But it did not see the everyday life of the people, for that was not lived in common, but apart

in houses, of which each was an independent organization, with its own laws, common family worship, common burying-places, and religious festivals under the rule of its own chief. The members of a house could inherit from each other, were responsible for each other's conduct and debts; they could not bring suit against each other before any court but that of their own kindred. The house existed as a unit in a complete family government. Gradually the city grew and absorbed the functions of the family governments around it, until it had usurped full supremacy. The family no longer dominated the state—the state dominated the family; political authority grew away from domestic authority, and kinsmen became fellow-citizens.

Thus the family died as a political organization by a gradual disintegration. Its property ceased to be held in common, the law of primogeniture was abandoned, and the eldest shared equally with his brothers. In religion the family kept its unity in form at least, if not in vitality, for centuries after it lost all hold upon the political institutions of the state; but as the union of church and state was continued, thus making the political ruler the head of the church, the influence of the family in religion was greatly lessened. The various migrations from the East formed colonies and developed cities in Greece—Thebes, Athens, Sparta. These, in turn, founded new colonies, until the shores of the Mediterranean to the eastern coasts of Spain were dotted with cities, impressing upon the life of that early time their characteristic features of energy, ordered

government, bold and penetrating thought, and courageous adventure. Yet, while each city became a mother-city with colonies, while the founders everywhere kept themselves separate from the barbarous peoples around them, there was never any common political union of the Grecian cities. They never tried for national unity. On the contrary, however close the colonists might reside to each other, the several tribes retained their distinctiveness, conscious of kinship and using substantially the same speech, but persisting in differences of character and rivalry of aim.

Two causes contributed towards national unity in Greece, though the union was never accomplished. The cities united in the "League of Neighbours" for the common worship of Apollo, to guard the oracle at Delphi and the territory around the shrine which was consecrated to the uses of religion. There were germs of national unity and of international comity and morality in the constitution of this League, but their possibilities were never developed. There was the great festival at Olympia, attended by embassies from every Greek city to take solemn part in the ceremonies by which the religious motives were proclaimed. To win a prize in the Olympic games, in which only Greeks could compete, was to gain immortality. The poets were there to publish their poems. Peace was proclaimed during the period of the festival, while the Greeks exhibited the common national spirit of their race—unity in religion and in standards of achievement. The persistency and enthusiasm with which the

games were celebrated for fully a thousand years bear testimony to their influence on Greek national history. Still, though they evidenced the spirit, they did not secure any form of national unity.

There are two wisely separated theories of government, namely, the doctrine which believes in the greatness of the individual citizen, and, secondly, the doctrine which seeks to make the government great and powerful at the expense of the citizen—the policy of individualism and the policy of paternalism. In Greece the system of paternalism became all-powerful. The individual was nothing but a serf to be used for a purpose, a prey for the state, which was the centre of civic affection and the object of civic virtue; his independence, his family, his home, his fireside, and conjugal relations and fidelity were not worthy of the consideration of the state—they were at the mercy and decree of the government, which recognized neither civic nor moral limit. The whole purpose and object of the state, and of the government, was to magnify and glorify the state, even at the expense of disposing of the bodies of the members of society. Plato's ideal republic was a state in which every act was regulated by the state, as parent of the child. The history of this political system is one of bloodshed and misery. The Divine Paternal Right theory of government reappeared in England at the time of the Stuarts, and was laid in the grave along with the body of Charles I by the civic conscience of that age, though its spirit still haunts the halls of government and finds in many politicians a material abiding place.

The government of Greece became a democracy in theory, but it was, in fact, as real a plutocracy as ever existed. In theory it was a government of the people, but in fact a government of oligarchies. Less than one-half of the people were citizens, the rest were class subordinates and slaves. The Thirty Tyrants ruled Athens with as despotic a hand as the Pharaohs ever ruled Egypt. The wealth was vested in a few, the masses were paupers; public issues were issues among the factions of the aristocracy for power—they had the money and corrupted the masses with gold, a process that some modern public men with no knowledge of ancient history seem to have intuitively acquired. Finally, democracy in theory passed to plutocracy and monarchy in both theory and fact.

1. Describe the oldest form of government. 2. Whence did the patriarch derive his power and authority? 3. What were the two chief forces in ancient society? 4. Give the origin of respect for precedent. 5. What forms the basis of a nation's constitution? 6. Account for unchanged conditions in China and India. 7. Name the two great parties of history, and describe each. 8. Trace the changes in the people who migrated from the East and finally settled in Greece. 9. What was included in the early Grecian city? 10. Show how the family gave way to the state, and kinsmen to citizens. 11. Give reasons why the Grecian city-states never became strong. 12. Name the two causes that offered opportunities for Grecian national union. 13. Name two opposite theories of government, and give examples of each. 14. Which theory prevailed in ancient Greece? 15. Compare the present German Empire with ancient paternalism. 16. Why was so-called democracy a failure in Greece? 17. What would probably have been the result, if Greece had grasped the modern idea of representative democracy? 18. What is the attitude of modern

democracy towards slavery, poverty, ignorance, and disease?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) "The ideal government would doubtless be that of an aristocracy of persons, at once morally good and technically efficient. But where shall we discover such an aristocracy?"

(2) "Athens was a great, efficient, and wisely-governed power as long as it was ruled by an aristocracy, and was guided by a single man of great ability, such as Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles. It began to decline when it became a so-called democracy, when the controlling power in the state fell into the hands of the people, when ambitious or needy politicians and adventurers contending for power divided the nation, corrupted and destroyed the patriotism of the people, and taught them to exploit the state and to consider it as an institution which existed mainly to administer to their wants and their vices and their love of ease and of self."

1. Under what conditions would an aristocracy make an ideal government? 2. Name some ancient aristocrats who approached the ideal. 3. Name some great aristocratic English statesman. 4. What caused Athens to decline? 5. What caused divisions in the nation? 6. What was the effect of these divisions on the people? 7. What is your opinion of the men who have "exploited the state" during the Great War? 8. If making undue profits out of the country is bad, what shall be said of those who profit by filling contracts with cheap, inferior supplies, thus exposing our troops to discomfort, disease, and in some instances death? 9. Are we a decadent fruit that is rotten before it is ripe, or are we the bud of the mightiest tree of time?

CHAPTER XI

ANCIENT GOVERNMENT—ROME

The government of Rome before the period of the Empire was similar to that of Greece. About 500 B.C. the kingdom gave place to a republic in theory, but an empire in fact, and two consuls were annually chosen rulers, instead of a king. Each consul was in essence an emperor and master of the state. Either consul could, with the consent of the Senate, name a dictator, who for six months should be the state's absolute monarch—the state and all its resources, and the lives and fortunes of the citizens, were put at his disposal. The Senate, composed of three hundred of the first statesmen, lawyers, and soldiers of the state, appointed for life at first by the king and afterwards by the consuls, although only an advisory body (outside of the public finances, over which it had full control), became virtually the government in all home affairs, and, until it became corrupt, had many advantages over every other authority in the state.

Two classes soon developed—the patrician and the plebeian—the privileged aristocracy and the masses. The former increased in power until, as a class, they possessed all the wealth and controlled the government. No one but a freeholder could be enrolled in a tribe and vote in the Assemblies, and

the patricians saw to it that the number of freeholders should not be increased. The state had land enough at its disposal for all, but the poor men of the plebeian order were not given their share, while the wealthy families, who ruled in the Senate and through the magistracies, not only took up the new land—forgetting to pay the legal rent—but even enclosed the pastures hitherto common, and left the peasant farmer neither arable land enough nor any food for his stock. Moreover, war took the small farmer away from home, and on his return he very often found his house burned, his fields laid waste by the enemy, and debt staring him in the face. Debt meant slavery—slavery to some patrician to whom he must resort for money. A man who did not pay his debt became his creditor's prisoner and slave, and the patrician magistrates were not backward in the exaction of the utmost penalties. The law, moreover, was nowhere to be read or learned, and its execution was daily made arbitrary, as well as harsh.

The plebeians rose in revolt and the Senate agreed that land should be provided by the state on which to place the poor farmers, who had been left to starve or else to accept the slavery of debt. From this it may be seen that "Back to the land" movements are not modern in their origin, nor final in the results. The defence of the plebeians against the tyranny of the patrician magistrates was provided for in a much more effectual manner. It was agreed that the plebeians should elect two tribunes to protect their interest. They were to have power

to suspend the judgment of any magistrate upon a plebeian, if they regarded the same as unjust. A very great authority lurked in this, for the tribune was judge as to when he should intervene, and his veto stood against any, even the proudest, consul. The power of the tribunes grew with use, and in time a slow usurpation brought the plebeians what they wished. The struggle between the parties continued. The poor farmer was shut in on his petty farm of one acre and a quarter, and denied his ancient right of common and wood. Patricians and their friends continued to take possession of what should have been allotted amongst all, and poverty looked as inevitable as ever.

This struggle between the orders became the moving cause of legal and constitutional changes in the state. For years the plebeians had urged that the laws be codified and published, so that they might know what privileges they had, and under what penalties they lived. The Senate opposed this, but agitation forced them to yield, and the XII Tables of Law were issued, engraved upon brazen tablets and set up in the Forum. These Tables showed Greek influence. The exact words of the laws of Solon were borrowed in some matters of detail, and Greek forms were followed in the statement of the law, but no constitutional changes were borrowed, and the stiff fibre of Roman practice was conserved throughout the whole code. The plebeians had the right of appeal restored and strengthened, and the tribunes were given the right to attend the meetings of the Senate and to oppose its decrees.

Better than this, the people, not plebeians only, but the whole body of free men, were henceforth to have legislative power in a new assembly created for the purpose. The XII Tables became the corner-stone of the whole structure of Roman law. All legal interpretation began with and was built upon them. But their existence did not alter the principle of growth, which had always existed in the law of Rome. It grew in the future, as in the past, by interpretation and by adjustment, not so much by the formulation of new principles as by the new application of old ones.

Rome was denied the exclusively municipal life for which her forms of government fitted her. The rival towns around compelled her either to conquer them or be conquered. She subdued all Italy, then Carthage, then circled the Mediterranean, fought in three continents, and brought the world to her feet. But the strain of war gave the plebeians their chance to lay the axe at the root of the principle that patrician ascendancy rested on. They forced the Senate to give assent to the legality of intermarriage between patricians and plebeians. This one blow demolished the pretence that religion forbade any but men of pure patrician blood to serve in the great offices of state, or approach the gods in the taking of the auspices. The law was henceforth to know nothing of pure patrician blood. Gradually the plebeians won their way to political equality with the aristocracy, even in the sacred colleges of the priesthood.

Meanwhile, Rome had conquered the world. But she had no system of holding her conquests together. She held each town or people by such bonds of interests, of fear, or of power, as would answer the purpose. All had to pay contributions to the Roman treasury, but, for the rest, the towns and communities followed their own life and government generally, as if still independent. The endeavour to govern an empire under a city's constitution was a failure. The officials who ruled the provinces in the name of the Republic misgoverned, fleeced, ruined them at pleasure and almost without responsibility, for the city democracy was a multitudinous master with little aptitude for vigilance. Rome had no means of curbing the magistrates, who, in distant colonies, knew no law but their own edicts. Force cured the want of system, arrogant domination served instead of adequate government, and a genius for intrigue and open subjugation held the place of wise legislation. The rich plebeians joined with the rich patricians and produced an oligarchy, not of noble blood, but of wealth, social position, and monopoly of the offices that led to the Senate.

Ancient history is not so different from modern after all, and rich Canadians resemble rich Romans in many respects. The offices upon which the power rested were one and all elective offices. The favour of the people had to be won in order to obtain them: the arts of the demagogue were assiduously practised, and trickery and the corrupting power of wealth were freely resorted to.

The officer whose charge it was to exercise jurisdiction and oversight in the markets, maintain the public works of the city, keep the streets clean, superintend the public baths, see to the proper sanitation of the capitol, and conduct the public games, spent money and gave favours and services very freely in order to obtain a higher office which lay beyond it. It is sometimes argued in modern days that these methods must be pursued in order to insure the election of a candidate in the interests of democracy, but it will generally be found, now, as in ancient times, that the candidates's object in thus seeking election is not to protect the people, but to use his power to advance the interests of himself and his self-seeking followers.

It was the selfish and arrogant, and, in the end, incapable rule of the oligarchy that brought about the decay and permitted the collapse of the so-called republic, and made the establishment of an empire open and inevitable. The peoples, the interests, the dominions, the magistracies, which these men sought to direct and govern, had become too varied, too complex, too vast, for the constitutional machinery intelligence with which they sought to control them. The only means of accomplishing the administrative changes which had become necessary was to concentrate power in the hands of one man, at first under the forms of the old constitution, at length in open disregard of these forms, and this was what was done in the establishment of the Empire. By making all men subjects, it practically made all men citizens. It brought Rome to the level of the

provinces, but it also brought the provinces to the level of Rome by giving her and them a common master, who could unify administration and control it with an equal interest in the prosperity of all parts of the consolidated domain. That was what Caesar attempted, and what the overthrow of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire accomplished. But that Empire was not suddenly erected, but took one hundred and fifty years to accomplish. The extreme policy of the oligarchs produced reaction. But reaction did not strengthen the people—it only developed factions. The time of healthful reaction had passed and the period of destroying civil war had come. Civil war opened the doors to Caesar and the several triumvirates, and finally Rome saw her first emperor in Octavius. The stages of the transformation were:

- (1) The decay of the free peasantry and the transfer of economic power from the many to the few;
- (2) The consolidation of oligarchic power in the Senate;
- (3) Reactions and factional wars;
- (4) The interference of Caesar, flushed with success and backed by a devoted army;
- (5) The formal recognition of a single man with controlling authority in the state.

With the Empire the semblance of republican methods in legislation was abandoned. The Senate became the supreme law-making authority in the land, and it was the creature of the emperor, who was virtually the sole source of law. The elective privileges of the popular assemblies survived only

the first imperial reign. The provinces gained influence and power by having a single and permanent master at the seat of government. The emperor's financial interests were identified with the prosperity of the provinces, and that prosperity was dependent upon the pecuniary honesty and administrative fidelity of the imperial officers throughout the Empire. For him it was success to keep his subordinates in order. In time the Empire dwarfed the city, and the emperors ruled from Rome, but not for Rome. Local autonomy in the provinces was superseded by centralization and bureaucracy. A great judicial system was developed. Roman law penetrated into almost every affair, both of public and private concern. The accumulated mass of edicts, regulations, rescripts, and official opinions, by which the imperial period had seen the law varied and increased, was reduced to a single consistent body from time to time. The most important efforts of this sort were those made by Theodosius, about 440 A.D., and by Justinian one hundred years later. The former is important, because it influenced the legislation of the first Teutonic masters within the Empire; the Justinian, because it was by far the most complete and scientific of the codes, and because it has been the basis of subsequent studies and adaptations of Roman legal practice the world over. It constituted that body of laws known to succeeding times as the Body of the Civil Law. It was at once adopted as the law of the Eastern Empire, but it did not dominate the west, outside of Italy, until the Middle Ages.

The Roman law has furnished Europe, not with her political systems, but with very many, if not most, of her principles of private right. Its political fruits are seen in municipal organizations, for though Rome suffered her provinces to retain their own places of government, her influence and interest were ever present to modify all forms and practices which did not square with her own methods. In Europe, speaking most generally, the Roman law prevailed in the field of procedure of criminal law, of contract, and of the law of inheritance, while German law prevailed in respect of the law of real property, in respect of family law, and wherever law was to be drawn on to the recognition of new relationships, like that of association and incorporation.

In England a strong native jurisprudence kept the body of Roman law out. Men of the masterful Plantagenet blood gave her a centralized administration of justice, such as no other European state was able to obtain, while yet she was in her early formative stage of growth. English judges put together a consistent English law, and there was no need to import foreign jurisprudence. Yet the Roman law was not wholly excluded. The Romans governed Britain four hundred years and must have left an influence. We know that many Roman municipalities on the island survived all conquests. Bede testifies that the Saxon laws were codified under the auspices of the clergy and that Roman codification was the model. Roman law was studied in England without serious break for more than three centuries. The laws of Henry I are said to have been in part

borrowed from Rome. But the English borrowings, have been of form and method rather than of substance, and the great bulk of her law is her own.

The Emperor Constantine divided the Empire into Eastern, with its capital at Constantinople, and Western, with its capital at Rome. Rome had lost so much power that she became a province, and the real administration was in the Greek East. The court of Constantinople took on oriental magnificence, treated itself with all the pomp and consideration that marked the early life of an Eastern despotism. The system of government organized by Constantine served as a model throughout the Middle Ages. The political separation between the Eastern Empire and the peoples of the West was emphasized and embittered by religious differences. Christianity had been adopted by Constantine, and had continued to be the religion of the Eastern Empire without interruption. But the Christian doctrine of the East was not the same as the Christian doctrine of the West. The world, therefore, saw two churches arise, with two magnates—the Pope at Rome and the Patriarch at Constantinople—the Pope virtually supreme in the West, because there was no Imperial throne to overshadow him, the Patriarch, dominated by a throne, and, therefore, partially subordinate. This religious difference, with differences of language and tradition, effectually prevented political union, and even political intercourse, between the East and the West, and when Rome fell in 476, the Western Roman Empire did not have even nominal unity again until the Holy Roman Empire arose in

the Middle Ages, under the German ruler, Charles the Great.

About the same time there arose in Germany great free cities, set like independent states in the midst of weak neighbours. Some held their charters direct from the emperor himself, others from some feudal lord. The imperial supervision was much less exacting than that of the princes, who, having less wide interests to care for, looked carefully after any movement of independence on the part of the towns within their domain. In the 13th century these cities were allowed to become "Free Imperial Cities", bound to the emperor only by sworn allegiance and not by any bonds of actual government. Soon after that came the next step—their admission to representation in the Parliament of the Empire. The part played by these great free cities in imperial affairs became one of the most important of the roles played on the confused stage at that troubled time. Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen have to this day certain privileges of position as free cities of the German Empire.

Democracy was a failure in Greece and Rome because, in fact, it never existed. Another reason why democracy in a modern sense could not live there was because religion and politics—church and state—were one and inseparable. The people had their gods and their temples, and pursued their religion, and these were part of the state. The masses looked upon the rulers of the state as masters and keepers of their conscience, in both public and private life—the individual was not required to think for him-

self, to consider what was right and what was wrong, and under such conditions there could not be popular government.

1. Describe the early government of Rome. 2. Name the two opposing classes, and state the condition of each in relation to the government, the land, and the law. 3. What was the Roman law in regard to debt? 4. Trace the origin and rise of the tribunes. 5. What were the Twelve Tables of the Law? 6. How did the plebeians obtain a voice in the government? 7. What prevented Rome from being more than a city-state? 8. What broke down the patrician power in Rome? 9. Why did Rome fail to hold her world-wide dominions? 10. What new combination got control of the state and by what means? 11. Are doubtful methods ever justifiable in an election? Give reasons for your answer. 12. Why did Rome change from a Republic to an Empire? 13. What benefits were derived from the change? 14. Give the stages of the transformation and the effect on Rome; on the provinces. 15. Name the two principal codes of Roman law. 16. Explain their influence on the laws of other countries. 17. In what fields did Roman law take precedence? 17. In what departments did German law prevail? 19. What effect had Roman law on English law? 20. Name the two divisions of the Roman Empire and the capitals of each. 21. Give the cause of differences between the two divisions. 22. What were the general conditions in Europe after the destruction of Rome? 23. When did the Eastern Empire fall? Before whom? and what advantages did Western nations derive from the fall? 24. Describe the rise of German free cities. 25. Why was democracy a failure in Rome?

CHAPTER XII

THE ANGLO-SAXONS—THE DANES

The English nation is the combined product of several populations. The Anglo-Saxon element is the most important, and may be treated as the chief one. But besides this, there are the British (that is to say, the Romanized Celtic), the Danish, and the Norman. Each of these four elements of the nation has largely modified the rest, and each has exercised an important influence in determining the British national character and national institutions. It is not until the elements were thoroughly fused and blended together that the history of England can properly be said to begin. This joint result of unity as to race, language, and institutions took place in the 13th century. For a century and a half after the Norman invasion the Anglo-Saxons and the Anglo-Normans were two distinct peoples. After the reign of John we find the Saxons and Normans merged under the common name and with the common rights of Englishmen.

No better proof of this can be given than that Norman barons joined with Saxon barons in demanding from a Norman king rights that were Anglo-Saxon in their origin. Moreover, in the thirteenth century, the English language, such as it still is, became the mother tongue of every Eng-

lishman, irrespective of his origin. So finally, with respect to the institutions, it was during this century that the Great Charter was obtained and the statutes connected with and confirmatory of it were passed, and in which we can trace the great primary principles of the English constitution. In this century Parliaments, comprising an Upper House and a Lower House, were first summoned, and the legal system assumed its distinctive features and was steadily enforced throughout the realm. In order to understand the Great Charter one must catch the spirit of the age in which it was granted and form a vivid and true idea of the people that obtained it—the characteristics and influence of each of the four elementary races by which the English nation was formed.

For five centuries before they entered upon the British Isles, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, commonly known as Anglo-Saxons to distinguish them from the German-Saxons, lived on the Rhine and Elbe rivers, in what is now a portion of Germany. They were a part of the Teutonic tribes, others of which migrated south into France, Spain, and Italy, where their ideas of local government and of heathenism came into conflict with the Christian religion and the imperialism, despotism, serfdom, and slavery of the Roman Empire, with a result that the Teutonic invaders became Christians. The Anglo-Saxons who went to Britain were heathen, and as the Celts had driven out the Romans prior to the Saxon invasion, the Saxons came to Britain unaffected by Roman ideas of government or religion.

From the very beginning of their crude and half-civilized conditions the Anglo-Saxons had a system of local government for local affairs, blended with a national or general government for national affairs. By this system they created a condition that did not permit the few to use a concentrated government for their private gains, to the detriment of the masses. They held the policies of government to their true functions, and thus was produced a people of good morals, with patriotism and industry, a people who learned to love the blessings of government rather than to hate its oppressions.

The tribe, headed by a king, was the national unit, and the central power of the tribe was the national, or general assembly. The presiding officer, or head man of the assembly, had no authority, except to preside. The assembly declared war, made peace, elected magistrates, and other officials, and sat as the high court of justice. The tribes were divided into divisions, and these divisions were subdivided into townships or villages. Each local division had its courts, and free men were summoned from among its people to pass on the rights of their equals, and here we have the first true conception of trial by jury. Each division furnished one hundred men, who passed local laws and tried cases. In addition, each division supplied another one hundred of its younger citizens as warriors for the army, and here we have the origin of the militia system. These warriors were selected from the free men so as to be patriotic and trusted with the affairs of war, and here we have the origin of the English dislike to conscription.

This form of selection has made patriotism one of the strong points of the race, and has made the people advocates of the principles of liberty and popular government.

It will thus be seen that Anglo-Saxon government derived its authority from the people and had its origin in the people. They had the original principles of popular government and put them into practice. They had no written constitution, but by custom the general government was limited in its powers at a matter of practice and common consent. The rulers were subject to the will of the people, and the local government had control of all local affairs.

We have already noted how in Eastern states the government was everything and the individual nothing, that one central power controlled all matters, both general and local, and to this power all went to secure permission to act. Not so with the Anglo-Saxons. They conserved the rights of the individual and held that in proportion as he became great, the state became great. Their theory was that society and the government would be pure, good, and correct only to the extent that the members who composed them were pure and correct in their individual lives; that all things depended on the kind of men who composed the government—a theory that is as true to-day and less followed than in the days of the heathen Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxons developed their ideas of government for 500 years before they entered the British Isles. The invasion of Britain was not

effected by one great movement, nor by hordes and armies, as was the case in the southern invasion, but in companies, which met with fierce opposition. They had to fight the Celts for habitation—in many cases to extermination. They drove the native males to Wales and Cornwall, but the British women were left unharmed, and the Anglo-Saxon men entered into marriage with them, thereby producing, as a mixing and commingling of blood generally does, a stout, healthy, progressive people. For about 150 years the Anglo-Saxons in Britain remained heathens, transforming their political system into the needs and uses of their new home, sowing the seeds of personal liberty in a conquered and new land.

Of the earliest inhabitants of Britain we have very little information. They had many tribes ruled by kings, their religion was Druidism, of which Britain was the parent seat. The Druids were priests, magistrates, and administrators of the law. The Celts did not have that regard for the purity and sanctity of the marriage tie that distinguished the Anglo-Saxons. The Romans did not colonize Britain fully, but Roman civilization flourished for several centuries, and some of its fruits survived. Thirty-three townships were established, each possessing powers of self-government and taxation, so that we may be indebted to Romanized Celtic rule for the system of municipal freedom and local self-government which has been the source of much of the honour and power in the nation. As at this time the Roman Empire was recruited from all parts of the world, and as the

soldiers were pensioned off by grants of land in the conquered territory, the British population, no doubt, became tinged with the blood of various races. It is certain a community of Roman civilization was generally diffused, and the language, the literature, and the laws became more or less naturalized in Britain. As the power of Rome decayed, she withdrew her troops and left Britain a prey to the Caledonians and Anglo-Saxon invaders.

It has been already noted how the Anglo-Saxons almost exterminated the Celtic men, but, by marriage with the women, the British element was retained in the nation. From the Anglo-Saxons the English inherited independence of mind, love of liberty, probity, steadfastness, the domestic virtues, and the love of order that marked their ancestors. From the Celtic element was derived a greater degree of energy and enterprise, of versatility and practical readiness than are to be found among the purely Anglo-Saxons.

After about two hundred years of occupation, the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity. This did much to mitigate their fierceness and to modify their political and social institutions. The missionaries came from lands where the old Roman civilization had survived in a much greater degree than in Britain, and were familiar with municipal government as practised in the large cities. The church introduced her councils and synods, and recruited her ranks from men of every race and every class. She taught the unity of all mankind, and practically broke down the barriers of caste and pedigree by offering

to all her temporal advantages, as well as her spiritual blessings. She even tried to make the power of the intellect predominate over brute force and animal courage. All this must have had an influence on the converted Anglo-Saxons, and gave increased efficiency to the subdued Romanized Celtic element with which the Anglo-Saxons had partially coalesced. The Anglo-Saxons came to appreciate the walled towns and cities which the Romans had left, and they naturally adopted the Roman system of civic self-government, which appealed to their free spirit. But, before the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms could be fused into the English kingdom a new element appeared.

Scandinavia sent thither her swarms of warriors, fresh from her rugged coasts, unsoftened by any knowledge of Roman civilization or the Christian religion. For nearly three hundred years the contestants struggled fiercely for the mastery. These Danes had much affinity with the original Anglo-Saxons. Their language was of common stock, their heathen gods the same, while in their political institutions they appear to have been even more turbulently free and independent than their neighbours. With them women were regarded with honour, and often with chivalrous devotion. They delighted in poetry and music, respected commerce and trade, and dearly loved fighting, especially sea-fighting. But every tie between the Anglo-Saxons and Danes was broken—the Anglo-Saxons had been converted to Christianity and were hated by the Danes as renegades. They attacked again and again, and,

overwhelming three minor kingdoms, nearly crushed Wessex, the Anglo-Saxons' chief state. Alfred rescued Saxon England from utter destruction. The Danish population were subdued, partly by war, partly by the influence of superior civilization, and still more by conversion to Christianity.

The Anglo-Saxons and the Anglo-Danes became more and more assimilated. The Anglo-Saxon tongue, habits, and institutions generally predominated, though there can be no doubt of the Danish influence having been strong and permanent, as is evidenced by the names of persons and places where Danish conquest prevailed. The later Danish wars were steady wars of conquest, and Canute was one of the greatest princes that ever ruled, both in regard to the extent of his power and of his personal character. But the dynasty did not take root, and England may be said to be Anglo-Saxon again until the conquest by the Normans. Three of the elements of the English race have now been brought together, and the Anglo-Saxon has prevailed, in contradistinction to the fourth, or Norman, element, to be taken up next.

1. What elements go to make up the English nation? 2. When did these elements become fully blended? 3. Give reasons for the claim that English history begins with the 13th century. 4. Where did the Anglo-Saxons come from? 5. What was their religion? 6. Had they been influenced by Roman ideas before they went to Britain? 7. Describe the form of government of the Anglo-Saxons, and show how from the first it held the germs of democracy. 8. Explain how Anglo-Saxon love of home, freedom, morality, patriotism, self-government, and justice laid the foundation for British democracy. 9. Trace the origin of Parliament;

trial by jury; the militia system. 10. What distinguished Eastern governments from that of the Anglo-Saxons? 11. What was the Anglo-Saxon theory of government? 12. Discuss the statement: "An honest people makes an honest government." 13. What qualities did the English inherit from the Anglo-Saxons; from the Danes; from the Celts? 14. What effects of Roman occupation remained in Britain? 15. What modifications in Anglo-Saxon manners and institutions were made by the introduction of Christianity? 16. Why did the Anglo-Saxons accept the Roman system of civic government? 17. How did the Anglo-Saxons regard the Roman walled towns? 18. What caused the bitter hatred between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, when they possessed so many qualities in common? 19. Show how Christianity changed the Danes from pirates to patriots. 20. Explain the permanent influence of Danish settlement in Britain. 21. Which element prevailed in language and form of government to the time of the Norman conquest? 22. Discuss what is meant by the following: "The Anglo-Saxon looks backward to regain his liberties, not forward to obtain them."

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) Extract from "Cymbeline" by Shakespeare:
(Lucius demands a renewal of the tribute paid to Julius Caesar, which Cymbeline refuses to pay.)

—"Remember, sir, my liege,
The kings your ancestors; together with
The natural bravery of your isle, which stands
As Neptune's park, ribbed and paled in
With rocks unscalable and roaring waters,
With sands that will not bear your enemies' boats,
But suck them up to the top-mast. A kind of conquest
Caesar made here; but made not here his brag
Of "came and saw and overcame": with shame—
The first that ever touched him—he was carried
From off our coast, twice beaten; and his shipping—
Poor ignorant baubles!—on our terrible seas,
Like egg-shells mov'd upon their surges, crack'd
As easily 'gainst our rocks; for joy whereof

The fam'd Cassibelan, who was once at point—
 O, giglot fortune!—to master Caesar's sword,
 Made Lud's town with rejoicing fires bright
 And Britons strut with courage."

1. What isle is referred to? 2. What is meant by the isle's natural bravery? 3. How have Britain's natural defences been overcome by modern inventions? 4. Explain the reference to Caesar and "came and saw and overcame". 5. Show how Britain's insularity led to her development of sea power. 6. Explain the reference to Lud's town. 7. Who was Lud? 8. What is meant by "giglot fortune"?

(2) Extract from "The Passing of Arthur" by Tennyson:

(After Roman troops were withdrawn from Britain, the land was invaded by the Angles and Saxons. Led by Ambrosius Aurelianus, a Briton, who had learned generalship from the Romans, the Britons rallied to the defence of the south country. He, or, as some say, his nephew, Uther Pendragon, is the King Arthur about whose valour and brave deeds so many marvellous stories have been told. Twelve great battles were fought and won, and a peace was agreed upon that might have lasted for many years, but for the treachery of Modred, King Arthur's nephew, who rebelled against his rule and called in the assistance of the pagan foe. The last great battle against the traitor was fought in Cornwall, where Arthur was fatally wounded. The extract quoted is Arthur's farewell.)

"And slowly answered Arthur from the barge:
 "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
 And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
 Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.
 Comfort thyself: what comfort is in me?
 I have lived my life, and that which I have done
 May He within Himself make pure! but thou,
 If thou shouldst never see my face again,
 Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer

Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer,
Both for themselves and those who call them friends?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.' ”

1. Quote examples from British history where “the old order changeth, yielding place to new”. 2. Compare “And God fulfils Himself in many ways”, “God moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform”, and “Even the most selfish passions that operate in history of social evolution, however they may stain the characters of those who felt them, may become the instruments of social impulses and ideas which make for better things. Napoleon may have been possessed by a personal passion, nevertheless, it identified itself with the aggrandizement of his country. Caesar, when he crossed the Rubicon, may have thought only of victory and power, but he founded the Empire, and the Empire brought to Europe the blessings of Roman law.” 3. What distinguishes man from other animals? 4. What is meant by “nourishing a blind life within the brain”? 5. What causes lead people to develop their lower, rather than their higher selves? 6. Show that good citizenship results from the development of the higher, or spiritual, life within us. 7. Explain the meaning of the last two lines.

(3) Extract from “Alfred and his Descendants”
by Wordsworth:

“The race of Alfred covet glorious pains
When dangers threaten, dangers ever new!
Black tempest bursting, blacker still in view!
But manly Sovereignty its hold retains;
The root sincere, the branches bold to strive
With the fierce tempest, while, within the round
Of their protection, gentle virtues thrive;
As oft, 'mid some green plot of open ground,
Wide as the oak extends its dewy gloom,
The fostered hyacinths spread their purple bloom.”

1. Explain who are meant by "the race of Alfred". 2. Name some of the "black tempests bursting, blacker still in view" during the lifetime of Wordsworth. 3. Show the aptness of the comparison of sovereignty with the oak. 4. Explain how other virtues thrive under the protection of manly sovereignty.

(4) Extract from "Harold" by Tennyson:

(Edward the Confessor, who had spent his boyhood in exile at the Norman Court, having no children, promised the crown to William of Normandy. Harold was preferred by the English, and, on Edward's death, was elected king by the Witan. William crossed the channel with a great army and defeated and slew Harold at the battle of Hastings.)

William: I am heir of England by the promise of her king.

Malet: But there the Great Assembly choose their king. The choice of England is the voice of England.

William: I will be king of England by the laws, the choice, and voice of England.

Malet: Can that be?

William: The voice of any people is the sword that guards them, or the sword that beats them down.

1. What is meant by "the great Assembly"? 2. How did the kings of the Anglo-Saxons secure the throne? 3. How did William the Conqueror purpose to become the choice and voice of England?

CHAPTER XIII

THE NORMANS

In 1066 a great migration of Normans swept down upon Britain, overthrew the Saxons, confiscated their lands, suppressed and almost stifled their spirit of personal liberty, destroyed their forms of self-government, and substituted the feudal system and the absolute rule of an alien, despotic king. The very name Englishman was turned into a reproach, the English language was rejected as servile and barbarous, and all the high places in church and state for a century were filled by men of foreign race. Not a Saxon earl and only one bishop was left at the close of William's reign. It was not a mere change of political rule, not the triumph of a candidate, but was the intrusion of one people into the midst of another, the violent placing of one society over another which it sought to destroy, and the scattered fragments of which it retained as personal property, or as an old Act put it, "the clothing of the soil".

The king ruled over two peoples, two kingdoms within one boundary—the Normans, rich and free, with their walled and moated castles, knights and nobles, luxury and insolence; the Saxons, poor and servient, living in huts of straw and ruined hovels, vexed with rent and taxes, tilling the soil when

allowed to do so, and existing in misery and envy. William established a Great Council as a legislative body, composed of Norman nobles and Norman bishops, who were tenants-in-chief to the monarch, so that the Great Council was but another name for the Crown. A smaller body, also dependent on the king, arrogated to itself the power to collect taxes, distribute funds, and to fix the policy and tyranny of the kingdom. Thus William was not only a king, but a monarch, clothed with all the powers of the legislative, judicial, and executive forces of government.

But while the fires of liberty and self-government burned low in the hearts of the Saxons, they were not extinguished. They smouldered as the fire smoulders in an old stack bottom, ready to break forth at any time under favourable conditions. While the Norman nobles were vassals to the king, they were tyrants to the Saxons. It is true there were classes among the Saxons. There were lords and thanes, common people, serfs and slaves. They had, however, made a beginning and were developing it into a system. While there were classes and conditions, there was a common sense of justice for all—every man might have a chance, the slave might buy himself free and join in life's race without a handicap. To some extent at least they had proclaimed and adopted the doctrine that one man was not made to toil while another enjoyed the fruits of his labour, a doctrine that has not been fully developed by legislation, even to the present day.

The Saxons fretted under the Norman yoke. They thought of the time when the will of the people was consulted by the Crown. They thought of King Alfred's rule, when every local district had its local, representative self-government, and when justice reigned in the realm. They determined to demand their rights from the Norman ruler, and they did it with an earnestness that has not been approached even by that of farmers' delegations to Ottawa.

Meanwhile, the king, profiting by his experience in Normandy, was jealous of the power of his feudal lords and of the church. He was afraid that the barons might unite and refuse to pay toll to him, claim the land in absolute title, and leave his throne an empty honour. He refused to pay homage to the Pope, and sought, with the assistance of Lanfranc, to establish himself as the head of both church and state, and at the same time keep them as separate, and possible rival institutions. Lanfranc's idea appears to have been to use the moral power of the church to check the despotism of the king, and the civil power of the king to prevent the church from degenerating into a political organization. In the strife between the king and the barons, the church supported the barons and gave the common people an opportunity to secure liberty and the reign of justice in the land. When the corruption of royalty was exposed by profligates and sub-tyrants, and when the extravagance and plunderings of the profligates and barons were laid bare by the king, when each party appealed to the common people for assistance, it was a good time for the

people to rise, throw off the shackles and burdens of lords, nobility, and loafers, and release themselves from the tyrannical rule of despots.

This is what the Saxons did. They grasped the opportunity which came to them to save and perpetuate the spirit of liberty and the principles of self-government. Thus the Saxon laws and the Saxon institutions survived the conquest, the king, and his succession in line. The Shire Court, the Hundred Moot, the townships with their localism, all survived. The Saxon courts and trial by jury came out of the conflict as living realities; the Saxon constitution of precedent and custom, based on rock-bottom principles of rights, honour, and justice, still lived. The true principles of democracy, not perfected, but to be developed in the evolution of time, still lived to continue the contest for human rights and civil liberty. Had the Normans agreed among themselves, had they completely subjugated the Saxons and stifled and destroyed their principles, the history of England and of English-speaking peoples would have been different. Justice and mankind would have suffered, and despotism, with all that follows in its train, would have been the beneficiary.

The turning point was reached on the 15th day of June, 1215, at Runnymede, when the barons joined the Saxons and forced King John to sign the Magna Carta, a great Bill of Rights based on Saxon laws, principles, precedents, and institutions. The Magna Carta is the first written formulation of civil and political liberty known to the English people. It is the final outgrowth and consummation of Saxon

principles, and has ever been appealed to as the final authority upon questions of civil liberty and political power in Great Britain.

The Norman Conquest gave England a place in universal history, not only because it dragged her into continental politics and twisted more closely the ties which bound her church to the Pope, but also because it increased her sensibility to new ideas, and infused into her society and institutions a spirit and vigour which they might never have developed from their own resources. The Normans brought with them to England the experience and the aspirations of an older and more intellectual stock than that from which they and their new subjects were descended. It would be easy to exaggerate the degree of Norman originality. Genius of any kind was rare among them. In the higher kinds they were totally deficient. But there are two types of ability, each invaluable to a race of pioneers, with which we are familiarized by the Norman chroniclers. On the one hand, we have the great soldiers of the invading host, men who were equally remarkable for foresight in counsel and for headlong courage in the hour of action, whose wits were sharpened by danger, and whose resolution was only stimulated by obstacles; incapable of peaceable industry, but willing to prepare themselves for war and rapine by the most laborious apprenticeship; illiterate but shrewd, violent but cunning, afraid of nothing, and yet instinctively inclined to win by diplomacy rather than by force. On the other hand, there were the politicians, men cautious, plausible, deliberate, with an immense

capacity for detail and an innate liking for routine; conscious in a manner of their moral obligations, but mainly concerned with small economies and gains, limited in their horizon, but quick to recognize superior powers and to use them for their own objects, indifferent for their own part to high ideals and yet respectful to idealists—altogether a hard-headed, heavy-handed, laborious, and tenacious type of men.

England suffered much at the hands of the one type and the other; but the soldiers gave her unity, the statesmen gave her peace, and both, in a curt, high-handed, and ungracious way, served a useful purpose as drill sergeants. They raised the English to that level of culture which the continental peoples had already reached, and left it for the Plantagenets of Anjou to make England, in her turn, a leader among the nations. Henry II and Edward I were nation-builders in a higher sense than the Conqueror, but it was the Norman Duke who made their work possible. The history of the Norman Conquest may be read with interest, if not for its own sake, at all events as a prelude to a more brilliant future.

1. Who were the Normans, and when did they invade England? 2. State briefly the manner in which they dealt with the conquered. 3. Why were the Saxons no match for the Normans in battle? 4. Who filled all the high places in church and state? 5. Explain the feudal system as adopted by the Normans in England. 6. Explain how "feudalism was a necessary stage in English history". 7. What is meant by the statement: "On the day after Hastings England was no nation, but a geographical expression?" 8. Show how feudalism was an advantage to the

people in the following ways: It led to (a) a higher civilization; (b) a division of labour; (c) a possibility of national defence; (d) the building of cathedrals and libraries, as well as baronial castles; (e) it created a leisure class who could devote themselves to the arts, science, and literature. 9. Show how the government of William was an absolute monarchy. 10. How was William's rule received by the Saxons? 11. What was the cause of the discord between the king and the nobles? 12. How did the common people profit by this? 13. What causes led up to the signing of the Magna Carta? 14. When was it granted, and by whom? 15. Is it really a great bulwark of the constitutional liberties of the nation, or is it rather a series of concessions to feudal selfishness wrung from the king by a handful of powerful aristocrats? Give reasons for your answer. 16. Were the provisions of the Great Charter derived from Anglo-Saxon or from Norman sources? 17. Enumerate some of the benefits derived from the Norman invasion. 18. What two classes of Normans became conspicuous in English history? 19. What made the Norman conquest of the Anglo-Saxons so easy of accomplishment? 20. Compare the lack of organic union among the Saxons with that of the Grecian city-states. 21. What was the attitude of the Church of England towards the king? Towards the people? 22. Give some of the causes of the decline of the church in the fifteenth century.

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) Extract from "Hereward the Wake" by Charles Kingsley:

"The heroic deeds of highlanders, both in these islands and elsewhere, have been told in verse and prose, and not more often, nor more loudly than they deserve. But we must remember, now and then, that there have been heroes likewise in the lowland and in the fen. Why, however, poets have so seldom sung of them; why no historian, save Mr. Motley in his 'Rise of the Dutch Republic', has

condescended to tell the tale of their doughty deeds, is a question not difficult to answer.

“In the first place, they have been fewer in number. The lowlands of the world, being the richest spots, have been generally the soonest conquered, the soonest civilized, and, therefore, the soonest taken out of the sphere of romance and wild adventure into that of order and law, hard work, and common sense, as well as—too often—into the sphere of slavery, cowardice, luxury, and ignoble greed. The lowland populations, for the same reasons, have been generally the first to deteriorate, though not on account of the vices of civilization. The vices of incivilization are far worse, and far more destructive of human life; and it is just because they are so, that rude tribes deteriorate physically less than polished nations. In the savage struggle for life, none but the strongest, healthiest, cunningest, have a chance of living, prospering, and propagating their race. In the civilized state, on the contrary, the weakest and the silliest, protected by law, religion, and humanity, have their chance likewise, and transmit to their offspring their own weakness and silliness. In these islands, for instance, at the time of the Norman Conquest, the average man was doubtless superior, both in body and mind, to the average of man now, simply because the weaklings could not have lived at all; and the rich and delicate beauty, in which the woman of the Eastern Counties still surpass all other races in these isles, was doubtless far more common in proportion to the numbers of the population.

“Another reason why lowland heroes *carent vate sacro*, is that the lowlands, and those who lived in them, are wanting in the poetic and romantic elements. There is in the lowland none of that background of the unknown, fantastic, magical, terrible, perpetually feeding curiosity and wonder, which still remains in the Scottish highlands; and which, when it disappears from thence, will remain embalmed forever in the pages of Walter Scott. Against that half-magical background his heroes stand out in vivid relief; and justly so. It was not put there by him for stage purposes; it was there as a fact; and the men of whom he wrote were conscious of it, were moulded by it, were not ashamed of its influence. For nature among the mountains is too fierce, too strong, for man. He cannot conquer her, and she awes him. He cannot dig down the cliffs, or chain the storm-blasts; and his fear of them takes bodily shape; he begins to people the weird places of the earth with weird beings, and sees nixes in the dark linns as he fishes by night, dwarfs in the caves where he digs, half-trembling, morsels of iron and copper for his weapons, witches and demons on the snow-blast which overwhelms his herd and his hut, and in the dark clouds which brood on the untrodden mountain peak. He lives in fear; and yet, if he be a valiant-hearted man, his fears do him little harm. They may break out at times, in witch-manias, with all their horrible suspicions, and thus breed cruelty, which is the child of fear; but on the whole, they rather produce in man thoughtfulness, reverence, a sense, confused, yet precious,

of the boundless importance of the unseen world. His superstitions develop his imagination; the moving accidents of a wild life call out in him sympathy and pathos; and the mountaineer becomes instinctively a poet.

“The lowlander, on the other hand, has his own strength, his own ‘virtues’, or manfulneses, in the good old sense of the word: but they are not for the most part picturesque, or even poetical.

“He finds out, soon enough for his weal and his bane, that he is stronger than nature: and right tyrannously and irreverently he lords it over her, clearing, delving, dyking, building, without fear or shame. He knows of no natural force greater than himself, save an occasional thunderstorm; and against that, as he grows more cunning, he insures his crops. Why should he reverence nature? Let him use her, and live by her. One cannot blame him. Man was sent into the world (so says the Scripture) to fill and subdue the earth. But he was sent into the world for other purposes also, which the lowlander is but too apt to forget. With the awe of nature, the awe of the unseen dies out in him. Meeting with no visible superior, he is apt to become not merely unpoetical and irreverent, but somewhat of a sensualist and an atheist. The sense of the beautiful dies out in him more and more. He has little or nothing around him to refine or lift up his soul; and unless he meet with a religion, and with a civilization which can deliver him, he may sink into that dull brutality which is too common among the lowest classes of the English lowlands; and remain for

generations gifted with the strength and industry of the ox, and with the courage of the lion, but alas! with the intellect of the former and the self-restraint of the latter.

“Nevertheless, there may be a period in the history of a lowland race when they, too, become historic for a while. There was such a period for the men of the Eastern and Central Counties; for they proved it by their deeds.

“When the men of Wessex, the once conquering, and even to the last the most civilized, race of Britain, fell at Hastings once and for all, and struck no second blow, then the men of the Danelagh disdained to yield to the Norman invader. For seven long years they held their own, not knowing, like true Englishmen, when they were beaten; and fought on desperate, till there were none left to fight. Their bones lay white on every island in the fens; their corpses rotted on gallows beneath every Norman keep; their few survivors crawled into monasteries, with eyes picked out, hands and feet cut off; or took to the wild wood as strong outlaws, like their successors and representatives, Robin Hood, Scarlet, and Little John; Adam Bell, and Clym of the Cleugh, and William of Cloudeslee. But they never really bent their necks to the Norman yoke; they kept alive in their hearts that proud spirit of personal independence which they brought with them from the moors of Denmark and the dales of Norway; and they kept alive, too, though in abeyance for a while, those free institutions which were without a doubt the germs of our British liberty.”

1. Why have poets and historians celebrated the heroic deeds of the people of mountainous countries more frequently than those of the lowlands? 2. Why have the lowlands of the world been soonest conquered and taken out of the sphere of romance, and into what other sphere have they been taken? 3. Why does a lowland population deteriorate quickly? 4. Show by reference to Belgium that heroism still survives in the lowlands. 5. Why are the people of the lowlands wanting in poetic and romantic elements? 6. Show how individuals, races, and nations are influenced by their environment, giving examples. 7. Why are the peoples of mountainous countries superstitious and imaginative? 8. Illustrate by examples, such as Greeks, Scots, and Swiss. 9. Why are the people of mountainous countries difficult to conquer? 10. What influences have surroundings upon the lowlander? 11. Name two influences that have power to prevent man from sinking into brutality. 12. Mention some of the things for which modern England is indebted to the men of Wessex. 13. Name the chief characters portrayed in "Hereward the Wake". 14. Give a short synopsis of the story.

(2) Extracts from "Harold" by Bulwer Lytton:
 (a) "Normans and soldiers, long renowned in the lips of men, and now hallowed by the blessing of the Church!—I have not brought you over the wide seas for my cause alone—what I gain, ye gain. If I take the land, you will share it. Fight your best and spare not—no retreat and no quarter! I am not come here for my cause alone, but to avenge our whole nation for the felonies of yonder English. They butchered our kinsmen, the Danes, on the night of St. Brice; they murdered Alfred, the brother of their last king, and decimated the Normans who were with him. Never, even in a good cause, were yon English illustrious for warlike temper and martial glory. Remember how easily the Danes subdued

them! Are ye less than the Danes, or I than Canute? By victory ye obtain vengeance, glory, honours, lands, spoils—aye, spoil beyond your wildest dreams. By defeat—yea even but by loss of ground, ye are given up to the sword! Escape there is not, for the ships are useless. Before you the foe, behind you the ocean!”

(b) “Clear and full, went Harold’s voice down the listening lines:

‘This day, O friends and Englishmen, sons of our common land—this day ye fight for liberty. The Count of the Normans hath, I know, a mighty army; I disguise not its strength. That army he hath collected together, by promising to each man a share in the spoils of England. Already, in his court and his camp, he hath parcelled out the lands of this kingdom; and fierce are the robbers who fight for the hope of plunder! But he cannot offer to his greatest chief boons nobler than those I offer to my meanest freeman—liberty, and right, and law, in the soil of his fathers!

‘Ye have heard of the miseries endured in the old time under the Dane, but they were slight, indeed, to those which ye may expect from the Norman. The Dane was kindred to us in language and in law, and who now can tell Saxon from Dane? But yon men would rule ye in a language ye know not, by a law that claims the crown as the right of the sword, and divides the land among the hirelings of an army. We baptized the Dane, and the Church tamed his fierce soul into peace; but yon make the Church

itself their ally, and march to carnage under the banner profaned to the foulest of human wrongs!

‘Outscorings of all nations, they come against you: Ye fight as brothers under the eyes of your fathers and chosen chiefs; ye fight for the children ye would guard from eternal bondage; ye fight for the altars which yon banner now darkens! Foreign priest is a tyrant as ruthless and stern as ye shall find foreign baron and king! Let no man dream of retreat; every inch of ground that ye yield is the soil of your native land. For me, on this field I peril all. Think that mine eye is upon you wherever ye are. If a line waver or shrink, ye shall hear in the midst the voice of your king. Hold fast to your ranks. Remember, such amongst you as fought with me against Hardrada—remember that it was not till the Norsemen lost by rash sallies their serried array, that our arms prevailed against them. Be warned by their fatal error, break not the form of the battle; and I tell you on the faith of a soldier who never yet hath left field without victory—that ye cannot be beaten. While I speak the winds swell the sails of the Norse ships, bearing the corpse of Hardrada. Accomplish this day the last triumph of England; add to these hills a new mount of the conquered dead! And when, in far times and strange lands, scald and scop shall praise the brave man for some valiant deed wrought in some holy cause, they shall say, “He was brave as those who fought by the side of Harold, and swept from the sward of England the hosts of the haughty Norman.”’

1. By whom are the addresses to Normans and Saxons supposed to have been given, and upon what occasion? 2. Upon what grounds did William claim the throne of England? 3. What system is referred to in the words, "If I take the land you will share it"? 4. Explain the reference to the "Night of St. Brice". 5. How did the king seek to rouse the fighting passions of his followers? 7. Contrast the offers of the two kings to their soldiers in the event of victory. 8. Explain the reference to—(1) "language ye know not"; (2) "A law that claims the crown as the right of the sword"; (3) "A law that divides the land among the hirelings of an army"; (4) "Foreign priest is a tyrant as ruthless and stern as ye shall find foreign baron and king". 9. Why did Harold warn his men to "hold fast to your ranks"? 10. Which side won in the battle, and how did the result affect the Anglo-Saxons? 11. Name the chief characters portrayed in "Harold". 12. Give a synopsis of the story.

(3) Extract from "Becket" by Tennyson:

(Henry II came to the throne pledged to restore order where there had been anarchy. He met a serious obstacle in the claim of the church that a priest might not be punished for crime by the civil authorities. Becket, Henry's closest friend, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, in the expectation that he would aid the king, instead of which he stood by the church and refused to give his official sanction to the document giving the king's courts power over the clergy. Becket fled to the continent, but was lured back to England by the hope of reconciliation. He was foully murdered in Canterbury Cathedral by four knights, who were impelled to the deed by some angry words of the king. The king was right in his contention that there could be no true justice in England till all men were equal before the law.)

"Barons and bishops of our realm of England,
After the nineteen winters of King Stephen—
A reign which was no reign, when none could sit

By his own hearth in peace; when murder common
 As nature's death, like Egypt's plague, had fill'd
 All things with blood; when every doorway blush'd,
 Dash'd red with that unhallow'd passover;
 When every baron ground his blade in blood;
 The household dough was kneaded up with blood;
 The millwheel turn'd in blood; the wholesome plow
 Lay rusting in the furrow's yellow weeds,
 Till famine dwarft the race—I came, your King!
 Nor dwelt alone, like a soft lord of the East,
 In mine own hall, and sucking thro' fools' ears
 The flatteries of corruption—went abroad
 Through all my counties, spied my people's ways;
 Yea, heard the churl against the baron—yea,
 And did him justice; sat in mine own courts
 Judging my judges, that had found a King
 Who ranged confusions, made the twilight day,
 And struck a shape from out the vague, and law
 From madness. And the event—our fallows till'd,
 Much corn, repeopled towns, a realm again."

1. Is Henry's account of Stephen's reign exaggerated?
2. Explain the reference in "went abroad thro' all my counties".
3. What issue was in dispute between the king's courts and the ecclesiastical courts?
4. What efforts did Henry make to restore law and order?

CHAPTER XIV

THE GREAT CHARTER

The following great primary principles are established or recognized by the Great Charter:

1. The government of the country by a hereditary sovereign, ruling with limited powers and bound to summon and consult a Parliament of the whole realm, comprising hereditary peers and elective representatives of the commons;
2. That without the sanction of Parliament no tax of any kind can be imposed, and no law can be made, repealed, or altered;
3. That no man can be arbitrarily fined or imprisoned; that no man's property or liberty can be impaired, and that no man can be punished in any way except after lawful trial;
4. Trial by jury;
5. That justice should not be sold or delayed.

The Great Charter, and its supplements, clearly recognized the authority of an hereditary sovereign. We find the nation constantly striving to regulate and temper, by solemn compact and laws, the power of its royal chief, but never attempting, in early times, to dispense with the existence of a kingly chieftain. Even when the king was deposed, a new sovereign was immediately raised to his place, so that the nation might always have a monarchial

head. It appears with equal clearness that the royal power is a limited power. The royal will must carry the sanction of the king's Council. The very charters themselves purport to be granted by the advice of the great spiritual and lay councillors of the Crown. A king who avows that he is bound to inflict no punishment save according to the law of the land, and that he cannot, except by the authority of the law, touch a free man's property or person, or control his freedom of action; a king who, by a public document, surrenders all fines which he has imposed contrary to law, completely admits the supremacy of the law over royal power. In other words, the king is a constitutional, and not an absolute, monarch. Although many of the Anglo-Norman kings were exceedingly arbitrary, they never were supposed, whether by others or by themselves, to be absolute, irresponsible lords of the lives and properties of their subjects, like the despots of the Eastern world. But though the king, by common understanding, was bound to consult his Great Council before he made new laws, or levied fresh taxes, the checks upon him were of a vague character and were often evaded prior to the Great Charter. Since that time the limitations of the royal prerogative have been undeniable and unmistakable.

Next let us trace the great principle of the king being "bound to summon and consult a Parliament of the whole realm, comprising hereditary peers and elective representatives of the commons". We must first ascertain the existence of such a body as the Great Council of the Realm, or Parliament, and next

examine of whom and how it is composed. This will lead us to inquire into the origin of the two houses of Parliament, the Lords and the Commons, and with regard to the Commons, we shall have to trace separately the growth of its two branches, the knights of the shire and the representatives of cities and boroughs. We know that the Anglo-Saxon kings could not make new laws or levy new taxes without the consent of the Witan, an assembly composed of the prelates and great nobles and thanes. The inferior class, the ceorls, were represented by certain of the magistrates, whom the men of each borough and township elected from among themselves to conduct local affairs. The Anglo-Saxon system was overthrown by the Normans, but was not forgotten, and its recollection, no doubt, did much to facilitate the adoption and insure the smooth working of the subsequent parliamentary representation of the commons.

Mention has been made of the Great Council established by William the Conqueror, and composed of the Norman church-officers and nobles who held land as tenants-in-chief to the sovereign. Long distances of travel, poverty, and other causes prevented many of the lesser tenants from attending the Council, so that in time the titles "peer" and "baron", which had at first been applied to all the king's immediate tenants, were confined to the heads of a few great houses, large land-holders who regularly attended the Council meetings. These became the temporal hereditary peers, who, along with the spiritual peers, formed the House of Lords.

We now come to the rise and progress of the House of Commons, with its two branches, the knights of the shire and the borough members. The Great Charter, after providing that the prelates and great barons shall be summoned individually, ordains that the king shall, by his sheriffs and bailiffs, summon generally all others who hold of the king-in-chief. It is quite reasonable to assume that the mass of inferior tenants-in-chief did not at this time take advantage of a right they had already abandoned and attend the Council in a body, but that they elected certain members of their body to represent them, and these representatives correspond to the county members of the House of Commons of the present day. We see here the birth of the principle of representative government. The name Parliament was first applied to the Great Council in 1246. In 1254 Henry III directed a Parliament to be convened at London, and summoned to it, among others, two good and discreet knights of the shire, chosen for the purpose, in the stead of all and each of them. Finally, in 1265, at the celebrated Parliament summoned by De Montfort, in Henry III's name, county or knights of the shire representation was undoubtedly placed and confirmed on its permanent basis, as the writs calling upon the sheriff to return two knights for his shire are still extant.

For the commencement of the other branch of the House of Commons, the representatives of cities and boroughs, we must fix a date after that of the Great Charter. It is true that those who obtained the Magna Carta intended to give the citizens and

burghers of England the same protection from royal rapacity as they had exacted for the land-holders, for the rough draft of the Charter, assented to by John under seal, after protecting the land-holders from levies without the consent of the Great Council, contained the words, "and in like manner be it done respecting the talliaiges and aids of and from the City of London and other cities". Through some neglect or manœuvre these words were omitted when the Charter was formally drawn up, and the cities and towns were left exposed to the exactions of their feudal oppressors. Simon De Montfort was the first statesman to perceive and appreciate the growing importance of the commercial middle classes in England. To the Parliament summoned by him two burgesses were returned for every borough in each county, and from that time the right of the burgesses to representation in Parliament has not been questioned.

Had the English kings been less wasteful and less warlike, they would not have needed so much money, and the House of Commons might not have grown into the great governing organ of the English constitution. But the power of the purse drew after it other powers. The constitutional principle that the Crown should not tax the subject without the consent of Parliament was, no doubt, the practical mainspring of parliamentary power. It would be unjust, however, to the men of the thirteenth century to suppose that they did not recognize the general advantage to the state of having people of intelligence, property, and rank control its political power.

A great writer of the time said, "For a prince to govern *all* by *all* is the great secret of happiness and safety, both for prince and people". This is in direct contradiction of the maxim of Napoleon—"Everything *for* the people, nothing *by* them". Time cannot be taken to show the advantages derived from having one Parliament for all England, and having two Houses of that Parliament, and two only. But it is important to note the union of the knights of the shire, or county members, with the borough representatives, forming the Commons of England, and leaving the great barons and prelates to form a separate House and a separate order. The Saxon House of Commons, composed of representatives of the masses or common free people, formed a stable bulwark against the encroachments of the Norman class and vested interests represented in the Upper House.

The great principles of the constitution guaranteeing the security of person and property from arbitrary violence, and assuring the due administration of justice are as follows:

THAT no man be arbitrarily fined or imprisoned; that no man's property or liberty be impaired, and that no man be in any way punished except after lawful trial;

Trial by jury;

THAT justice shall not be sold or delayed.

The last maxim needs no comment. We have had for seven hundred years, in the words of the Great Charter, the solemn declaration and covenant of the sovereign: "We will sell to no man, we will not

deny or delay to any man, either justice or right.' It would be well if we could boast that it has been carried out in practice as fully as it has been acknowledged in theory. "The law's delay" still, as in Shakespeare's time, forms one of the curses of human life, and modern law reformers might well consider if the exaction of costs and court fees from a poor suitor is in accordance with the great constitutional canon.

Two great principles in the administration of justice are included in the words of the Charter. The first is that no man shall be imprisoned on mere general grounds of suspicion, or for an indefinite period, at the discretion or caprice of the executive power. The second is that, as a general rule, every person accused of a criminal offence shall have the question of his guilt or innocence determined by a free jury of his fellows, and not by any nominee of the government. The first of these is familiar to us as an Englishman's right to a Habeas Corpus, if his personal liberty is interfered with. Some writers state that this safeguard of freedom dates only from the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, but its true foundation is the Great Charter, and the principle is in evidence from the earliest times of our law.

We have seen how the people of Rome were kept in ignorance of the law, which they were supposed to obey. In striking contrast to the Roman custom is the law of Edward the First, wherein it was ordained that "the charters of liberties and of the forest should be kept in every parish, and that they should be sent under the king's seal as well to the

justices of the forest as to others, to all sheriffs and other officers, and to all the cities in the realm, accompanied by a writ commanding them to publish the said charters and declare to the people that the king had confirmed them in all points. All justices, sheriffs, mayors, and other ministers were directed to allow them when pleaded before them, and any judgment contrary thereto was to be null and void. The charters were to be sent under the king's seal to all cathedral churches throughout the realm, there to remain, and to be read to the people twice a year. It was ordained that all archbishops and bishops should pronounce sentence of excommunication against those who by word or deed or counsel did contrary to the aforesaid charters."

We cannot better close the chapter then by giving the eloquent observations of Sir James Mackintosh on the Great Charter. They are the more valuable for citation here, because they forcibly point out the existence in our constitution of that law of progress and development, the operation of which it is one of the principal objects of these pages to illustrate:

"It was a peculiar advantage that the consequences of its principles were, if we may so speak, only discovered gradually and slowly. It gave out on each occasion only as much of the spirit of liberty and reformation as the circumstances of succeeding generations required, and as their character would safely bear. For almost five centuries it was appealed to as the decisive authority on behalf of the people, though commonly so far only as the necessi-

ties of each case demanded. Its effect in these contests was not altogether unlike the grand process by which Nature employs snows and frosts to cover her delicate germs, and to hinder them from rising above the earth till the atmosphere has acquired the mild and equal temperature which insures them against blights. On the English nation, undoubtedly, the Charter has contributed to bestow the union of establishment with improvement. To all mankind it set the first example of the progress of a great people for centuries, in blending their tumultuary democracy and haughty nobility with a fluctuating and vaguely-limited monarchy, so as at length to form from these discordant materials the only form of free government which experience had shown to be reconcilable with widely-extended dominions.

“Whoever in any future age or yet unborn nation may admire the felicity of the expedient which converted the power of taxation into the shield of liberty, by which discretionary and secret imprisonment was rendered impracticable, and portions of the people were trained to exercise a larger share of judicial power than ever was allotted to them in any other civilized state, in such a manner as to secure, instead of endangering, public tranquility; whoever exults at the spectacle of enlightened and independent assemblies, which, under the eye of a well-informed nation, discuss and determine the laws and policy likely to make communities great and happy; whoever is capable of comprehending all the effects of such institutions with all their possible improvements, upon the mind and genius of a peo-

ple—is scarcely bound to speak but with reverential gratitude of the authors of the Great Charter.

“To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England upon the esteem of mankind. Her Bacons and Shakespeares, her Miltons and Newtons, with all the truth which they have revealed, and all the generous virtue which they have inspired, are of inferior value when compared with the subjection of men and their rulers to the principles of justice, if, indeed, it be not more true that these mighty spirits could not have been formed except under equal laws, nor roused to full activity without the influence of that spirit which the Great Charter breathed over their forefathers.”

1. Name some of the primary principles of the Great Charter. 2. Show that the king's power was a limited one. 3. Cite facts to show that the monarchs admitted this. 4. Explain the origin of the House of Lords. What two classes were represented in it? 5. Were the early representatives of the church and nobility in the House of Lords Anglo-Saxons or Normans? 6. Explain how the House of Commons was made up. 7. Name the two classes of representatives called to it. 8. Why were representatives of cities and boroughs late in coming in? 9. Give the probable origin of representative government in England. 10. When was the name Parliament first applied to the Great Council? 11. What lasting benefit did De Montfort confer on the British constitution? 12. Why were the Norman kings compelled to call Parliaments? 13. Was the power of taxation the only shield of liberty the English had? 14. What advantages were derived from having only one Parliament in all England, instead of several in different provinces, as on the continent? 15. What are the advantages of having two Houses of Parliament? 16. Show how the representation of the House of Commons was well adapted to become the guardian of English liberty. 17.

Why is British justice extolled the world over? 18. What two great principles of justice are secured by the Charter? 19. Explain what is meant by a Writ of Habeas Corpus. 20. How were English laws made public? 21. Show how, as the people developed and their necessities demanded, the Great Charter was drawn upon as authority for liberties. 22. Explain Sir James Mackintosh's comparison of the Great Charter to Nature. 23. Discuss the statement that the spirit of the Great Charter is of more value to the English people than the literary works of her great men. 24. Show how great authors and thinkers are the natural product of a free people. 25. Discuss: "Magna Carta marked one step in the process by which England became a nation, but not the first, nor the final one." 26. Explain: "After Magna Carta the king must either keep the law or defy it, its principles were definite."

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

A very interesting and profitable address can be made by taking the five principles of the Great Charter referred to in Chapter XIV and explaining each. Show how the whole fabric of modern government and British law has been built up on these old Anglo-Saxon ideas of liberty and justice.

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE

Resolved, that trial by jury should be abolished.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

1. Juries originally arose from a natural effort on the part of the people to prevent the tyranny of the despotic king; it was the means by which the people sought to take over the decision on questions of guilt and innocence into their own hands, but the law has become so complicated that now juries usually decide according to the judge's summing up.

2. The system is felt to be more and more inadequate. The best citizens evade going on the jury whenever they can, and it very often happens that a difficult question has to be settled by men who have not sufficient education to enter fully into the merits of the case.
3. Most men now would prefer to be tried altogether by a judge with a reputation for knowledge and impartiality to lose, than by a jury who would be more anxious to bring the trial to a conclusion as soon as possible than to arrive at a just decision.
4. Juries are far too susceptible to the appeals of counsel, and whether a man is brought in guilty or not usually depends to a large extent upon the eloquence of his counsel, with the natural result that high fees are given for good counsel, and hence justice, so-called, is far more easily obtained by the rich man than the poor. There is, therefore, great need of reform taking the direction of free justice for all, and learned judges to decide the cases.
5. Our jury system shows its weakness in the difficulty which is found in deciding what are questions of law and what are questions of fact. Counsel and judge are continually at issue as to whether a point ought to go to the jury or not.
6. The judge, counsel, prisoners, witnesses, and spectators are all interested in the case, but the jury is not. They have been dragged from their business and set down to decide upon a

complicated series of facts. Under these unfavourable circumstances it is a mere accident if justice is done.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE NEGATIVE

1. This is one of the oldest institutions we have, and is one of the glories of our national life. It proceeds upon the principle that every man has a right to be tried by his peers.
2. The system has been so wrought into our whole manner of thinking that it could not be changed without grave danger to justice.
3. The jury, being composed usually of business men of broad experience, is the best possible body to decide upon the guilt or innocence of the accused; the judge by his training is fitted to decide on matters of law; but if his functions were to be extended, much injustice would result from judicial prejudice.
4. Our system is found in experience to work very well; for when both sides of a case are fully laid before these juries, they almost invariably arrive at a decision which the general moral sense of the community would endorse.
5. In every trial there are two kinds of questions arise: questions of law and questions of fact. Our system provides for these by ordaining that "questions of law are for the judge, questions of fact for the jury".
6. Trial by jury is the poor man's best protection from the power and influence of the big interests, such as railway companies and mining and manufacturing corporations.

CHAPTER XV

PARLIAMENT COMPLETE IN FORM—LORDS, COMMONS— PRIVY COUNCIL—CABINET

The church gave its support to Anselm in his struggle with Henry I, and to Becket in his fight against Henry II. It opposed slavery, abolished trial by ordeal, reformed criminal procedure, and established an ecclesiastical code of law which became the basis of the national system. The abject surrender of King John to the demands of the Pope aroused the church, and Langton aided in securing the liberties definitely set out in the Great Charter. The young King Henry III acknowledged himself the Pope's vassal and agreed to pay tribute to the church. A papal legate was sent over to reorganize the Church of England. He filled the church offices with foreigners and collected rich gifts for the clergy. It is said the foreigner drew annually from English benefices three times the amount of the revenue of the king. Appeals to Rome in law cases, forbidden by Henry II, became frequent, and heavy fees were paid by suitors.

The clergy gradually degenerated into land-grabbers, and the spiritual courts, under the name of liberty, developed a system of tyranny and corruption without a parallel in the administrative annals of any time or country. Half of the

land of England belonged to them by the end of the fourteenth century. The monasteries became wealthy, but worldly. The clergy oppressed the people, the upper classes the masses, while they, in turn, protested against the vices and crimes of the clergy and the classes. Henry married a Norman wife and gave her relatives some of the richest church offices and earldoms in England, and this added to the restlessness of the people. The clergy soon divided into two classes, the one Norman, aristocratic and noble, supporting the Crown, and the other Anglo-Saxon and democratic, supporting the constitutional rights of the people. While the church supplied many great men as statesmen, she lost her spiritual power, and with that her influence over the masses of the people, and prepared the way for the friendly reception of the friars and for the rise of the Lollards.

Although Henry had promised to be true to the Great Charter, yet no words could bind him, and his faithlessness, like that of Charles I, brought the nation to a civil war. Simon de Montfort became the champion of English liberties and saw that the time had come to place government in England on a broader basis. A real national sentiment and national life now existed, and yet the body, which may now be called the Parliament, that spoke for the nation, was composed of only the baronage and the higher clergy. The smaller land-holders and the country gentlemen, or knights of the shire, and the merchants, had no voice in the nation's councils. Restrictions were placed upon the king's authority,

even Edward, Henry's son, for a time supporting the side of the Parliâment. After a few years the validity of the Provisions of Oxford was referred to Louis IX of France, both sides agreeing to abide by his decision.

The decision of Louis, supported by the Pope, declared that the Provisions of Oxford interfered with kingly power and were null and void, and that Henry might appoint his own ministers. Civil war followed, and the Royalists were defeated with great slaughter at Lewes. The king was practically deposed and Montfort was supreme. He called a Parliament in the king's name, in which, with the nobility and prelates, sat representatives of the lower clergy, the gentry, and the trading classes, all apparently in one chamber. The war continued. Edward turned to the assistance of his father, and Montfort was defeated and killed at Evesham in 1265, and England was slowly reduced again to Henry's authority.

Edward I was wiser than his father. He was the first king after the Conquest to use constantly in daily life the English tongue, and the first, also, to give a permanent share in the government to all classes in the state. He passed many laws reforming abuses; he checked the greed of the Church for land by the Statute of Mortmain; he taxed the clergy mercilessly; he reformed the land tenure; he established the system of entail, killed feudal independence by the Statute *Quia Emptores*, by which subinfeudation was done away with; he made strict laws against thieving and other crimes; impelled by the

influence of the clergy and laity, he cruelly banished the Jews from the kingdom by legislation that was not revoked until the time of Cromwell.

Edward's wars and schemes of conquest left him always hard pressed for money, and he found that as a matter of business he could get more money from the people with than without their consent. At first he called together those whom he designed to tax—the barons, then the clergy, then the barons and the clergy, then the clergy and representatives of the towns and counties; but it was inevitable that a system should soon appear under which burdens would be equally divided, and in 1295 he called a Great Parliament, in which each class was represented—earls and barons, bishops and other church dignitaries were summoned in person. The sheriffs were ordered to see that two knights came from each shire and two citizens from each town. The lower clergy sent representatives from each diocese, and the Parliament of 1295 is called the Model Parliament, because it consisted of representatives of the whole nation. By the time of Edward III the nobles and churchmen sat in a separate chamber as the House of Lords, while the members chosen by the counties and boroughs formed the House of Commons, and Parliament became outwardly just what it is to-day. > 3rd Period begins

Edward III spent a great deal of his time in France, winning barren victories, paid for by the blood and misery of the English nation. The Black Death swept away about half the population of the country, and, by reducing the number of labourers,

helped to increase their wages and to advance their condition. The struggle between the nobles and the church on the one side, and the people, particularly the peasants, on the other, continued for thirty years, when a great peasant uprising took place under Wat Tyler. Leaders went among the people declaiming liberty, equality, and social revolution to enraged crowds. The masses demanded freedom for peasants born in bondage, rent to be paid for land instead of personal service, and the abolition of high licenses for the right to trade in the towns.

The trade laws of Edward's time were very narrow. In the towns the artisans chafed under the tyranny of the powerful trade guilds, and especially of the Flemings and other foreigners who controlled an extensive trade in England. They contrasted their own poverty with the wealth and power of the prelates and rich monasteries. Even the people's parish clergy were restless. Only privileged persons were allowed to sell staples to foreigners; trade with Scotland was prohibited; the export of living sheep was forbidden lest foreign breeds should be improved, and there were heavy penalties for taking iron out of the country; a merchant could deal in only one kind of merchandise; even diet and dress were regulated—no one might have more than two courses at meals, except on feast days, when three courses were allowed—the English must wear only English cloth—Parliament prescribed the cost of apparel for each class—a servant must wear cloth costing only a certain price, and furs and silks were forbidden to all but the well-to-do.

The craving for equality was strong, and was another factor leading up to the Revolt. John Wycliffe translated the Bible into English and proclaimed it as the only absolute church authority, and he wrote and preached sermons, remarkable for their vehemence, against the evils in the church. He was a radical, rather than a moderate, reformer, and he attacked the possessions, as well as the doctrines, of the church. He was literal, as the Puritans afterwards were. He had no scheme for church government, but he pleaded for general simplicity in church worship and for greater freedom for the individual and less crushing authority for the clergy. He spoke strongly against the abuses that had crept into the church, and advised against the appointment of ecclesiastics to political offices. The writings of Chaucer and Langland in English, the substitution of English for French in the court pleadings, the study of the English Bible, all heralded the truth that the nation had at last learned to speak, and to speak with vigour, its own thoughts in its own way. Edward restricted the power of the church by forbidding any subject from being a party to a suit in any court, including that of the Pope, without leave of the king.

Richard II's reign was marked by the Peasants' Revolt. The king was unpopular, and the upper classes, demoralized by war, were selfish, oppressive, and extravagant. The revolt was soon quelled and appears to have had little effect in freeing the peasants. But a process begun before the rising continued after it. One by one

the peasants commuted their personal services for a fixed yearly rent, the lords' power over them slowly decayed, and it was not long before the great mass of English peasants were free men. Richard endeavoured to rule absolutely, packed a Parliament which granted his every demand, and ordered the arrest of all who criticized his actions. On his return from a trip to Ireland, he found that the Parliament he had packed to do his will had sealed his fate by deposing him and making Henry IV king in his stead.

The reigns of Henry IV, V, and VI are noted for weakness and anarchy. Henry IV, like William III, was king by parliamentary title, and the sixty years following his accession, like the sixty years following that of William III, were dominated by an aristocracy. As Henry was entirely in the power of his Parliament, political liberty in theory reached a high stage. The king considered himself forced to obey the church, and his reign witnessed the disgrace of the burning of the Lollard heretics. But signs were not wanting that the middle classes, who were represented by the House of Commons, had no particular love for the church. In fact, the Commons seriously proposed that Henry should permanently confiscate the lands of the bishops and of the religious orders.

England had not yet advanced where she could have a Parliament strong enough to control the aristocracy. We have already noticed how William the Conqueror had instituted the Great Council and a smaller permanent Council. We have seen how the Great Council had given way to Parliament. The

vitality of the smaller permanent Council passed to a still smaller "Privy" Council. This weaker circle emerged in the reign of Henry VI. He selected certain men from the ordinary councillors and constituted them his Privy Council, binding them to himself by special oaths of fidelity and secrecy. From this time the Privy Council became the chief administrative and governing body of the realm. Many of the judicial prerogatives, which really belonged to the king when sitting in his Great Council, or to Parliament, had been claimed for the king's permanent Council, and certain distinct law courts were thus developed, and the same rights of exercising the powers of these courts were arrogated to itself by the permanent Council's proxy, the Privy Council. Out of it in course of time came the Council of the North, the hated Star Chamber, and the odious High Commission Court, which were not abolished until 1641, when the Great Revolution was fairly launched, a revolution which was to crush arbitrary executive power forever in England and to usher in the complete supremacy of Parliament.

Long before the Parliamentary Wars had come to a head, the same causes that had produced the permanent and privy Councils had again asserted their strength and produced the Cabinet, still a third "inner circle", this time of the Privy Council, a small body selected for special confidence by the king from the general body of his councillors, and meeting him, not in the larger Council Chamber, but in a "Cabinet", or smaller room apart. The Privy Council had in its turn become too large for

despatch and secrecy. The sovereign, on the most important occasions, resorted for advice to a small knot of leading Ministers. It was not until after the Restoration that the interior Council began to attract general notice. For many years old-fashioned politicians regarded the Cabinet as an unconstitutional and dangerous board. Nevertheless, it constantly became more and more important, until at length it drew to itself the chief executive power, and has now been regarded during several generations as an essential part of our politics. The Cabinet first comes into public view as a candidate for the highest executive place in the reign of Charles II. The steps by which it approached that position are thus summarized by a distinguished English writer:

(1) First, we find the Cabinet appearing in the shape of a small, informal, irregular body, selected at the pleasure of the sovereign from the larger number of the Privy Council, consulted by, and privately advising the Crown, but without power to take any resolutions of state, or perform any active government without the assent of the Privy Council, and not as yet even commonly known by its present name. This was its condition anterior to the reign of Charles I.

(2) Then succeeded a second period, during which this council of advice obtains its title of Cabinet, but without permanently displacing the Privy Council from its position as the only authoritative body of advisers of the Crown. This period lasted during the reigns of Charles I and Charles II, the latter of whom governed during part of his reign by

means of a Cabinet, and towards its close, through a reconstructed "Privy Council".

(3) A third period, commencing with the formation by William III of a Ministry representing, not several parties, as often before, but the party predominant in the state, the first Ministry approaching the modern type. The Cabinet, though still remaining as it remains to this day, unknown to the capital constitution, had now become the real and sole, supreme, consultative Council and executive authority in the state.

(4) Finally, towards the close of the eighteenth century, the political conception of the Cabinet as a body consisting, (a) of members of the Legislature, (b) of the same political views, and chosen from the party possessing a majority in the House of Commons, (c) prosecuting a concerted policy, (d) under a common responsibility to be signified by collective resignation in the event of parliamentary censure, and (e) acknowledging a common subordination to one chief minister—took definite shape in our modern theory of the constitution, and so remains to the present day.

1. Show how the church was with the people in securing the Great Charter. 2. Trace the causes that led to the decline of the church. 3. What events contributed to the preparation of the people for the Reformation? 4. Name some of the kings who bowed to the authority of the church. 5. In what respects was Henry III like Charles I? 6. Describe Montfort's contribution to the English constitution. 7. Montfort made some Minister responsible for every act of the Crown. Show how this anticipated the principles of the Cabinet system. 8. Explain how in Montfort's case "The unachieved ideal was the father of the

achieved reform". 9. Discuss: "The Lollards threatened the possessions rather than the doctrines of the church." 10. Mention some of the reforms introduced by Edward I. 11. Give reasons for Edward I's deference to the will of his Parliament. 12. Explain the Statute Quia Emptores, subinfeudation. 13. Explain Edward's treatment of the Jews. 14. Why was the Model Parliament so called? 15. When did the House of Lords first sit separate from that of the Commons? 16. How did the separation give more power to the House of Commons? 17. Explain some of the causes that led to the Peasants' Revolt. 18. What were the chief demands of the peasants? 19. Show how the commerce laws of Edward III restricted trade. 20. Compare the domestic laws of Edward III with the paternal laws of ancient Greece and Rome. 21. Name the chief factor that led to the demand for equality. 22. Discuss the following: "Wycliffe was the morning star of the Reformation." 23. Explain how the peasants became free men. 24. Show how Richard evaded the principles of the Great Charter. 25. Compare Henry IV with William III as regards right to the throne, class rule, treatment of religious sects. 26. Explain the origin of the Privy Council. 27. From whence did it derive its court powers? 28. What illegal courts afterwards grew out of it? 29. Explain the origin of the Cabinet. 30. Explain the different stages through which the Cabinet passed in reaching its present form. 31. Explain the essentials of a modern constitutional Cabinet. 32. Explain briefly the origin of the first English literary productions. 33. Trace briefly the successive steps by which the modern form of Parliament has been evolved.

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) Extracts from "Ivanhoe" by Sir Walter Scott:

"It seemed to the author that the existence of the Saxons and Normans in the same country, the vanquished distinguished by their plain, homely, blunt manners and the free spirit infused by their ancient

institutions and laws; the victors by the high spirit of military fame, personal adventure, and whatever could distinguish them as the 'Flower of Chivalry', might, intermixed with other characters belonging to the same time and country, interest the reader by the contrast."

"The date of our story refers to a period towards the end of the reign of Richard I, when his return from his long captivity had become an event rather wished than hoped for by his despairing subjects, who were in the meantime subjected to every species of subordinate oppression. The nobles, whose power had become exorbitant during the reign of Stephen, and whom the prudence of Henry II had scarce reduced into some degree of subjection to the Crown, had now resumed their ancient license in its utmost extent, despising the feeble interference of the English Council of State, fortifying their castles, increasing the number of their dependants, reducing all around them to a state of vassalage, and striving by every means in their power to place themselves each at the head of such forces as might enable him to make a figure in the national convulsions which appeared to be impending."

"Four generations had not sufficed to blend the hostile blood of the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, or to unite by common language and mutual interests two hostile races, one of which still felt the elation of triumph, while the other groaned under all the consequences of defeat. All the monarchs of the Norman race had shown the most marked predilection for their Norman subjects. The laws of the

chase and many others equally unknown to the milder and more free spirit of the Saxon constitution had been fixed upon the necks of the subjugated inhabitants to add weight, as it were, to the feudal chains with which they were loaded."

" 'By St. Dunstan, thou speakest but sad truths. Little is left to use but the air we breathe, and that appears to have been reserved with much hesitation solely for the purpose of enabling us to endure the tasks they lay upon our shoulders. The finest and fattest is for their board, the best and bravest supply their foreign masters with soldiers and whiten distant lands with their bones, leaving few here who have either the will or the power to protect the unfortunate Saxon.' "

"The other churl is of that savage, fierce, intractable race still to be found among the descendants of the conquered Saxons, and whose supreme pleasure it is to testify by all means in their power their aversion to their conquerors."

"It is a well-known story of King John that he confined a wealthy Jew in one of the royal castles and daily caused one of his teeth to be torn out until, when the jaw of the unhappy Israelite was half disfurnished, he consented to pay a large sum, which it was the tyrant's object to extort from him. In spite of every kind of discouragement, and even of the special court of taxation, called the Jews' Exchequer, elected for the very purpose of despoiling and distressing them, the Jews increased, multiplied, and accumulated large sums, which they transferred from one to the other by means of bills

of exchange—an invention for which commerce is said to be indebted to them, and which enabled them to transfer their wealth from land to land that, when threatened with oppression in one country, their treasure might be secured in another.”

“Nor is it my least quarrel with my son that he stooped to hold as a feudal vassal the very domains which his fathers possessed in free and independent right.”

“The Saxon, rising up and filling his cup to the brim, addressed Prince John in these words: ‘Your Highness has required that I should name a Norman deserving to be remembered at our banquet. This, perchance, is a hard task, since it calls on the slave to sing the praises of the master. Yet I will name a Norman—the first in arms and in place—the best and noblest of his race, and lips that shall refuse to pledge me to his well-earned fame I term false and dishonoured, and will so maintain them with my life. I quaff this goblet to the health of Richard the Lion-hearted!’ ”

“Of Prince John thou thinkest as I do—that he is too weak to be a determined monarch, too tyrannical to be an easy monarch, too insolent and presumptuous to be a popular monarch, and too fickle and timid to be long a monarch of any kind.”

“We became enervated by Norman arts long ere we fell under Norman arms. Far better was our homely diet, eaten in peace and liberty, than the luxurious dainties, the love of which hath delivered us as bondsmen to the foreign conqueror.”

“The description given by the author of the *Capital Saxon Chronicle* of the cruelty exercised in the reign of King Stephen by the great barons and lords of castles, who were all Normans, affords a strong proof of the excesses of which they were capable when their passions were inflamed. They grievously oppressed the poor people by building castles, and when they were built they filled them with wicked men, or, rather, devils, who seized both men and women who they imagined had money, threw them into prison and put them to more cruel tortures than the martyrs ever endured.”

“My lineage, proud Norman, is drawn from a source more pure and ancient than that of a beggarly Frenchman, whose living is won by selling the blood of the thieves whom he assembles under his paltry standard. Kings were my ancestors, strong in war and wise in counsel, who every day feasted in their hall more hundreds than thou canst number individual followers, whose names have been sung by minstrels, and their laws recorded by Wittenagemots, whose bones were interred amid the prayers of saints, and over whose tombs minsters have been builded.”

“Glory, alas, is the rusted mail which hangs as a hatchment over the champion’s dim and mouldering tomb—is the defaced sculpture of the inscription, which the ignorant monk can hardly read to the inquiring pilgrim—are these sufficient rewards for the sacrifice of every kindly affection, for a life spent miserably that ye may make others miserable? . . .”

“By the soul of Hereward, thou dost quench the pure light of chivalry, which alone distinguishes the noble from the base, the gentle knight from the churl and the savage, which rates our life far, far beneath the pitch of our honour, raises us victorious over pain, toil, and suffering, and teaches us to fear no evil but disgrace. Chivalry! Why, she is the nurse of pure and high affection—the stay of the oppressed, the redresser of grievances, the curb of the power of the tyrant. Nobility were but an empty name without her, and liberty finds the best protection in her lance and sword.”

“Trust me, each state must have its policies;
Kingdoms have edicts, cities have their charters;
Even the wild outlaw in his forest walk
Keeps yet some touch of civil discipline;
For not since Adam wore his verdant apron
Hath man with man in social union dwelt,
But laws were made to draw that union closer.”

“He that does good, having the unlimited power to do evil, deserves praise, not only for the good which he performs, but for the evil which he forbears.”

“Come hither, Waldemar,” said Prince John, “an unhappy Prince am I. My father, King Henry, had faithful servants. He had but to say that he was plagued with a factious priest, and the blood of Thomas-a-Becket, saint though he was, stained the steps of his own altar. Tracy, Morville, Brito, loyal and daring subjects, your names, your spirit are extinct!”

“What say our statutes, and how do our brethren observe them? They should wear no vain or worldly ornament, no crest upon their helmet, no gold upon

stirrup or bridle-bit; yet now who go pranked out so proudly and so gaily as the poor soldiers of the Temple. They are forbidden by our statutes to take one bird by means of another, to shoot beasts with bow or arblast, to halloo to hunting-horn, or to spur the horse after game. But now, at hunting and hawking, and each idle sport of wood and river, who so prompt as the Templars in all these fond vanities? They are forbidden to read, save what their Superior permitted, or listen to what is read, save such holy things as may be recited aloud during the hours of refection; but, lo, their ears are at the command of idle minstrels, and their eyes study empty romaunts. They were commanded to extirpate magic and heresy; lo, they are charged with studying the accursed cabalistical secrets of the Jews and the magic of the Paynim Saracens. Simpleness of diet was prescribed to them—roots, pottage, gruels, eating flesh but thrice a week, because the accustomed feeding on flesh is dishonourable corruption of the body; and behold, their tables groan under delicate fare! Their drink was to be water, and now to drink like a Templar is the boast of each jolly boon companion.”

“The laws of England permit and enjoin each judge to execute justice within his own jurisdiction. The most petty baron may arrest, try, and condemn a witch found within his domain.”

“There is one chance of life left to me,” said Rebecca, “even by your own fierce laws. I deny this charge—I maintain my innocence, and I declare the falsehood of this accusation—I challenge the pri-

vilege of trial by combat, and will appear by my champion."

"Thou hast spoken the Jew as the persecution of such as thou art hast made him. Heaven in ire has driven him from his country, but industry has opened to him the only road to power and to influence which oppression has left unbarred. Read the ancient history of the people of God, and tell me if those by whom Jehovah wrought such marvels among the nations were then a people of misers and usurers. And know, proud knight, we number names amongst us to which your boasted northern nobility is as the gourd compared with the cedar—names that ascend far back to those high times when the Divine Presence shook the mercy-seat between the cherubim, and which derive their splendour from no earthly prince, but from the awful Voice which bade their fathers be nearest of the congregation to the Vision. Such were the princes of the House of Jacob."

"The reign of Richard I was like the course of a brilliant and rapid meteor which shoots along the face of heaven, shedding around an unnecessary and portentous light, which is instantly swallowed up by universal darkness, his feats of chivalry furnishing themes for bards and minstrels, but affording none of those solid benefits to his country on which history loves to pause and hold up as an example to posterity."

"After the two nations mixed in society and formed intermarriages with each other, the Normans abated their scorn, and the Saxons were re-

fined from their rusticity. 'But it was not until the reign of Edward III that the mixed language, now termed English, was spoken at the Court of London, and that the hostile distinction of Norman and Saxon seems entirely to have disappeared.'"

1. Compare the manners of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans. 2. Contrast the "free spirit" of the Anglo-Saxons with the "chivalry" of the Normans. 3. Describe conditions in England after the reign of Henry II as regards the barons and the people—the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. 4. What laws added weight to feudal chains? 5. Mention the "sad truths" referred to. 6. Is the speaker a Norman or a Saxon? 7. Relate the story of King John and the Jew. 8. What is said to have been the origin of Bills of Exchange? 9. What was the father's complaint against his son? 10. How did the Anglo-Saxons regard Richard the Lion-hearted? 11. What was their opinion of John? 12. Discuss the claim that Norman arts reduced the Anglo-Saxons before the conquest of arms. 13. Quote the Saxon's reply to the Norman taunt as to his ancestry. 14. Explain the meaning of the paragraph beginning, "Glory, alas, is the rusted mail", etc. 15. What should chivalry stand for? 16. Why are laws necessary in a state or society? 17. What was John's purpose in addressing Waldemar as he did? 18. Show how the ideals of the Templars had declined. 19. Explain the privilege of trial by combat. 20. Describe the reign of Richard. 21. When did the hostile distinction between the races disappear? 22. What did each gain by the fusion? 23. What effect had the use of a common language in fusing the races?

(2) Extracts from "Long Will" by Florence Converse:

"I have no mind to learn the manner of the French. There be many souls in England that know no such light songs. It is for them I sing—for the poor folk in cots."

"The people are dead of the pestilence, and they

that live will die, for they starve, and the lord of the manor refuseth them bread."

"What, wilt thou strike down the very immutable and fixed laws of God Himself whereby He hath ordained that kings shall reign."

"'Tis a slow world, and no man so slow as the man at the plow. Not in my day nor in thine shall the knight bethink him to set the plowman free."

"Wat Tyler ever threateneth the wrath of the people. He saith the land is full of villeins that have run from the manors for that the Statute maketh them to labour for slave wage. He saith the people will make themselves free. John Ball goeth about to hearten men to rise against oppression."

"With a sudden change to sharp speech, Jack Straw said, 'A day cometh when there shall be no king, nor no overlord, nor no rich merchant to buy food away from the people and store it up and sell it at a price. But every man shall be leader of his own soul, and every man king. There shall not be poverty nor riches, but one shall share as another, and nothing shall be mine nor thine.'"

"For this was the law, that if a 'scaped villein should dwell in any town a year and a day and his lord did not take him, he was free of his lord."

"Give the common folk new law. Last Trinite a year there came to us a countryman had run from his place for that he starved on the wage that the law allowed. Yet that same day of Parliament his master found him out in open street and haled him away. Oh, is't not shame in a Christian kingdom that men be sold with the soil like maggots? Set

the people free when thou art king! Set the people free!”

“Now, it was an old law in England that the villein, which was bound to the soil where he was born, must till the soil for his lord, giving him service in days’ labour; and, in return therefor, the villein had leave to till certain acres for his own behoof. But this law was fallen into disuse in a many places afore the pestilence time, and if a villein would, he might discharge his service in a payment of money to his lord, and so be quit; and the lord’s bailiff hired other labourers to till the manor. And this was a good way, for the villein got more time wherein to till his own land, or to ply his trade, and the lord’s bailiff got better men—they that laboured doing so for hire, and without compelling.”

“Then came pestilence and knocked at every man’s door; and where there had been ten men to till the soil, there was one now, and the one would not work for the old wage, for he said, ‘Corn is dear’. And this was true, there being none to harvest the corn. So every man served him who would pay the highest wage—whether his own lord or the lord of another manor. But the lords, becoming aware, said, ‘How shall this be? For by the law the villein is bound to the soil and must labour on the manor where he was born; yet here be villeins that journey from place to place like free men, and barter service; neither will they labour for their own lord, except it like them, and for hire’.”

“After this there was passed in Parliament the Statute of Labourers, whereby it was declared that:

‘Every man or woman of whatsoever condition, free or bond, able in body, and within the age of three-score years . . . and not having of his own whereof he might live, nor land of his own about the tillage of which he might occupy himself, and not serving any other, should be bound to serve the employer who should require him to do so, and should take only the wages which were accustomed to be taken in the neighbourhood where he was bound to serve, two years before that plague befel.’

“And this was amended and made more harsh other years after.”

“But the villeins, having tasted freedom, were loth to return into bondage. They fled away from the manors; they hid in the woods; they gathered them into companies, and would do no work, except their demand of wage and liberty were granted. Moreover, certain men of a quick wit went about and preached against kings and lords. They said all men were brothers and free, they must share as brothers. One of these preachers was John Ball, a priest, a good man, fearless and fervent. For a score of years he traversed England calling men to fellowship; and for this he was persecuted of Holy Church. Rich prelates had no mind to share their wealth with villeins. But and because John Ball suffered, the common folk loved him the better and believed in him. Langland knew him, and had speech of him many a time; nevertheless, Langland said that John Ball would not make England new.”

“And the grievance of every leader shall differ from the grievance of every other leader; yet,”

Langland added, "one only desire shall they have in common—to lead—to put themselves in place of power."

"The king is leader of us English. He may ride across our sown fields when he goes a-hunting; he may send forth his provisor to take away our geese and our pigs, our sheep and our cattle, to feed his idle courtiers, what time he maketh a progress through the realm; we'll go hungry, but we'll cry 'God save him' as he passeth by. 'Twill be many years afore common folk cease to honour the king. Here a man, there a man, with rage in his heart, will be found to follow Wat Tyler or Jack Straw; but England will never rise up as one man, but at the bidding o' the king."

"My confessor saith this Wyclif turneth the Bible into the English tongue for common folk to read—and that's scandal and heresy, to let down God's thoughts into speech of every day."

"I am in arrears to bailiff for that my plow broke in the furrow three days past; I could not beg no wood to mend it, but Forester found me in the park with mine axe. Wherefore I sat yesterday in the stocks."

"Wherefore is the people not ready, Jack Straw? Wherefore? For that in so many shires I came to preach love thou wert afore me, and preached hate. Two year is but a short space to learn all England to forget to hate, to bind all England in fellowship of love, so that if a man fight 'tis for his brother's sake. When this uprising faileth, as 'twill surely fail, do thou ask thine own soul where's blame."

“Ye that corrupt kings, I hear ye weep and pray for mercy—and the people shall pour out your wealth like water, the rivers shall swallow it up. The sky is red—lo, fire—fire! And the riches of the nobles and the thievings of the merchants are smoke and ashes! Woe unto you, lawyers. Your wise heads shall hop, but your feet shall lie still upon the stones. Woe unto you, priests, bishops—the people have found you out!”

“Wat Tyler and Jack Straw set up two great banners of Saint George on Blackheath, which was a moor that lay to southward of London, distant from the Bridge by the highway five miles.”

“My lords, I know what this is to desire to be free. I and my people, we shall be free men on the morrow.”

“Sire, we ask three gifts of thy grace, and the first gift is to be free men.”

“Speak,” said Richard, “Here’s one grace granted. Name other two.”

“That we may pay a rent, henceforth, for the land whereto we were bound aforetime. We are not thieves—we are honest men, desirous to till the land. Four pence the acre is the rate we would pay.”

“Four pence the acre,” said Richard, “this also do I grant.”

“And the third grace, oh, King—the third is pardon—pardon for John Ball—pardon for Wat Tyler—for all, for all.”

“It shall be written that ye are pardoned,” said Richard, “It shall be written that ye are free.”

“As they went down the street she heard them cry out against the Flemings, that took bread out of poor men’s mouths, out of weaving of wool.”

“These Flemings were certain weavers from overseas, who came to England, the greater number of them in the lifetime of King Edward III and the good Queen Philippa. And whereas before that time much wool was sent out of England across the Channel to be wove into cloth, now it was more and more woven in this country. But for as much as by courtesy of King Edward, Flemings needed not to pay the guild tax, therefore were they hated of the guild of weavers of London; and these persuaded Jack Straw and other peasant folk that if there were weavers in England they ought to be English weavers, and wherefore should the English go hungry and in bonds when Flemings feed and are free.”

“‘Peace,’ cried Long Will, ‘there shall be no peace so long as men strive to be king. When they have forgot to add glory unto themselves, when they are content to serve their brothers—then cometh peace.’”

1. Who was it had no mind to learn the manner of the French? 2. Discuss the question of the divine right of kings. 3. What pestilence is referred to? 4. Why is it difficult to arouse the common people? 5. Sketch the lives of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball. 6. In what respect has the prophecy of Jack Straw been realized? 7. How might a villein obtain his freedom? 8. What were the chief grievances of the common folk? 9. Trace the change in the law of villeinage from the time of its introduction to the scourge of the Black Death. 10. How did the pestilence affect wages, the cost of living, and conditions of service? 11. Give the chief provisions of the Statute of Labourers. 12. Mention some of the extreme

penalties imposed. 13. How did the villeins seek to escape bondage? 14. What effect did the writings, and especially the translations of the Bible into English, by Wycliffe have on the people? 15. What was the reason given by Langland that men like Wat Tyler and Jack Straw would not make England free? 16. Discuss the following as a characteristic of the English people: "We'll go hungry, but we'll cry God save him as he passeth by." 17. Explain how the king and his retinue obtained provisions on their tours through the country. 18. What, according to the ruling class, was Wycliffe's scandal and heresy? 19. Give an example of the extreme severity of the Forest Laws, and show how this severity affected the common people and was resented by them. 20. What reason did Long Will give for saying that the people were not ready to rise? 21. To whom was the denunciation, beginning with "Ye that corrupt kings" addressed? 22. In what way did the nobles corrupt kings? 23. Who were the "merchants" referred to? 24. To what fate did he consign the lawyers, and why? 25. Where did the people assemble for the uprising under Tyler and Straw? 26. Who said, "My lords, I know what this is, to desire to be free"? 27. In what respect was the king not free at this time? 28. Name the three demands that the people made of the king. 29. Were these demands granted, and the king's promises kept? 30. What was the cause of complaint against the Flemish weavers, and who were the leaders in the pillage of their goods? 31. When, according to Langland, would peace come?

(3) Extract from "Simon de Montfort" by James Lincoln:

(Henry III was a weak and pleasure-loving king. In his coronation oath he had sworn to abandon the evil practices of John's reign, but he broke his pledge, defied the law, and plundered the poor without mercy. The barons rose against Henry, as they had risen against John, and forced him to abide by the Charter. The revolt was led by Simon de Montfort, who was victorious as a champion of the rights

of the people for a time, but after his death at Evesham Henry regained power.)

“‘Key of England’ and ‘Mountain Strong’

De Montfort’s fame waxed bright,

‘I will die under ban, a landless man,

Ere I forsake the right.’

And the people lauded him in song

For Freedom’s Redcross Knight.

“Now call him Montfort the Englishman,

Who died for England’s sake,

Who had fenced her cause with mightier laws

Than ever a king should break,

And fell on sleep, as the weary can,

When Freedom was awake.”

1. Why was Montfort termed “Key of England”? 2. Was he an Englishman by birth? 3. What was the “right” he would not forsake? 4. Why is he called “Freedom’s Redcross Knight”? 5. In what way was he the champion of the nation’s rights? 6. Explain the reference in—“fenced her cause with mightier laws than ever a king should break”. 7. Show that Prince Edward believed in the principles maintained by Montfort.

(4) Extract from “Wat Tyler” by Robert Southey:

(Richard II, the ten-year-old son of the Black Prince, came to the throne on the death of Edward III. He was a brave, handsome lad, who sought his own pleasure and did nothing to remedy the distress of the people. The ruthless exaction of a poll-tax in 1381 exasperated the peasants beyond endurance and they rose in revolt. The counsellors of the king urged him to quiet the people by promising all they asked. He did so, and easily persuaded them to return to their homes, bearing the king’s worthless pledges that their grievances would be set right. Some of the leaders, Wat Tyler, John Ball, and others, stayed in London to make sure that the royal word was kept. They were summoned to meet the

king at Smithfield, and there, because he dared to speak openly, Wat Tyler was struck down and fatally wounded. John Ball was soon after arrested, tried, and put to death. Thousands of peasants were slain by the king's officers, who were sent into the country to quell the insurrection. So the Peasants' Revolt was crushed in blood, but the ideas of Wat Tyler and John Ball have, nevertheless, prevailed.)

Curse on these taxes—one succeeds another—
Our ministers, panders of a king's will,
Drain all our wealth away, waste it in revels,
And lure, or force away our boys, who should be
The props of our old age, to fill their armies,
And feed the crows of France.

The Parliament ever cries more money,
The service of the state demands more money;
Just heaven! of what service is the state?

The mob are up in London—the proud courtiers begin to tremble.

Why do we fear those animals called lords?

What is there in the name to frighten us?

Is not my arm as mighty as a Baron's?

* * * *

John Ball, you are accustomed to stirring up the poor deluded people to rebellion;

Not having the fear of God and of the King
Before your eyes; of preaching up strange notions,
Heretical and treasonous; such as saying
That kings have not a right from Heaven to govern;
That all mankind are equal; and that rank
And the distinctions of society,
Ay, and the sacred rights of property,
Are evil and oppressive; plead you guilty
To this most heavy charge?

John Ball, If it be guilt,
To preach what you are pleased to call strange notions,
That all mankind as brethren must be equal;
That privileged orders of society

Are evil and oppressive; that the right
Of property is a juggle to deceive
The poor whom you oppress; I plead guilty.

1. What was the nature and amount of the particular tax that caused the revolt? 2. What else did the people complain of besides the loss of their wealth? 3. Why were the people afraid of the lords? 4. What were some of the heretical and treasonous notions preached by John Ball? 5. How are these notions regarded at the present day? 6. Discuss the principles that Ball pleaded guilty of preaching.

CHAPTER XVI

THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT—THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY

After the fall of Rome in 476, the civilization of the ancient world had been in part overwhelmed and its treasures lost or forgotten. But society became in time settled, and the people turned with enthusiasm to the study of the art and literature of the ancient world. The Turks captured Constantinople in 1453 and drove the learned Greeks to Italy and other Western countries, where they added to an interest already active. But the awakening was not confined to the study of antiquity. New mental and spiritual forces were transforming European thought. It was the age of Savonarola, Erasmus, and Copernicus, the age of printing and the English Bible, the age of new ideas of man, his rights, and his duties. The political world, too, was changing. France held dominion over Italy, Spain drove out the Moors, and was ready for the struggle for supremacy with her neighbour, which soon embroiled all Europe. The curiosity of the time found expression in the discovery of new regions by Marco Polo, Columbus, Da Gama, and Magellan, and these discoveries marked the beginning of an era of activity that brought England to the forefront in power, commerce, manufacture, literature, and religious and civil liberty.

A great writer has divided the growth of the British constitution into three periods:

1. Ante-Tudor—Feudal-aristocratic force the chief power—killed itself out by the Wars of the Roses;

2. Tudor to 1688—Slavish power of Henry VIII—murmuring power of Elizabeth—mutinous power of James—rebellious power of Charles I—the steps were many, the energy one, and that the growth of the Middle Classes and Protestantism;

3. 1688 to the present time—Declaration of Rights—Act of Settlement—Catholic Emancipation Act—First Reform Act—Second Reform Act—Ballot Act—Third Reform Act.

We have seen how the Wars of the Roses destroyed feudalism, and with it the power of the lords and nobles over the Crown. The Commons had the wealth, the Crown the power, and the aristocracy were dependent on the one for sustenance and on the other for political preferment. The House of Lords could no longer control, the Crown and the king would not submit to being dictated to by the House of Commons, and the common people were not yet sufficiently organized to check the Crown's power. The king, therefore, became the lawmaker and the law of the land. He called meetings of Parliament when it suited him and commanded legislation to his liking. England had a constitution in name only. The principles of the Great Charter were of no force and effect on the Tudor despots. The old Eastern doctrine that the state was everything and the individual nothing was in full power.

It was an absolute monarchy in a constitutional realm.

Strange to relate, this condition developed when England was coming into a modern era and when the great Middle Classes were growing in independence and wealth. The Tudors were, however, a strong line of monarchs and gave the country stable government, including: (1) Protection of life and property; (2) a firm administration of justice; (3) a popular foreign policy, and (4) a domestic trade policy that encouraged manufactures and commerce. At the same time, Parliament was gaining strength to meet and settle the question held over from the time of Richard the Second. The nation understood that the king's strength was the guarantee of order, and Parliament became the ready tool of despotism. Henry VII called Parliament together seven times in twenty-four years. The last session ordained that the king's decrees should have the force of law, and for the last seven years of his reign Henry ruled in this absolute way. He raised money by fines and forfeitures and by confiscation of Yorkist lands. Henry VIII and Wolsey called but one Parliament, and that for the purpose of raising money. After that they raised money by "benevolences". It imposed burdens so heavy that the people raised a cry of distress.

The Reformation, begun by Martin Luther in Germany, where it spread rapidly, did not have much effect in England until the reign of Edward VI, but Wolsey saw it just coming, and helped to

effect it. He seized some of the smaller monasteries and took a bold stand upon the dignity and independence of the English church. When Henry wished to divorce his wife, the Pope refused to grant him a divorce. The king was forced to provide ways and means to carry out his will. He had the Parliament convened. It was composed of royal servants and pauperized aristocracy, who were willing to do the king's will for a livelihood. They were willing to obey orders, and the orders were that matters must be so arranged that the king could re-marry. The influence was so great that it could not be resisted, and in 1531 the king was declared to be the "Singular Protector and Only Supreme Governor of the English Church, and, as far as the law of Christ permits, its Supreme Head". Thenceforth the Church of England was to be separated from the Church of Rome, and the Crown directed the affairs of both church and state. Monarchy and absolutism were in full sway. Parliament was at the king's command, and the church at his mercy.

The masses were wealthy, but disorganized, and were, therefore, in no condition to check the power of the king. The bankrupt aristocracy and the clergy were making terms with the Crown at any price. They were without money, and they had to live, and their only hope was to make peace by doing the bidding of the king. As the Commons became oppressed more and more by the arbitrary monarchy, they lost respect for royalty. When Charles I came to the throne the people did not hesitate to take issue with the Crown—they no longer looked upon

the king as infallible. They had been oppressed by arbitrary monarchy long enough. They began to ask by what right the Great Charter had been disregarded, and by what authority the English constitution had been nullified. It was a question as to who was the more powerful, the king or the people. They had joined issue and the question must be determined. Should the arbitrary will of the king be law and the source of final authority in England, or should the constitution and the will of the people control? It was the old fight again between Anglo-Saxon and Norman—between individualism and paternalism—between popular rights and despotism. Should Anglo-Saxonism and Liberty triumph, or should Normanism and Despotism defeat the march of human freedom—that was the issue.

Henry VIII sought to retain the Roman Church doctrine without Roman supremacy. He allowed the Protestant Bible to be placed in the churches, but he insisted on the old doctrines and oppressed both Protestants and Catholics who opposed his ideas. He plundered the monasteries and obtained rich spoils for himself and his friends. Many new families were founded on the wealth thus acquired. The monasteries had helped the poor, educated the youth, and taken care of the sick and aged, and their spoliation caused an outbreak of the clergy, gentry, and common people of the northern districts. They purposed to march to London on a Pilgrimage of Grace, to seek redress from the king. Henry pacified them with promises, but afterwards took terrible vengeance upon those who had rebelled.

On Henry's death his middle course on church matters was abandoned, and Protestantism adopted. The riches of the parish churches now followed those of the monasteries and went to enrich the king's Protestant friends. There was little Roman influence in the House of Lords, and Edward had a new Book of Common Prayer prepared, and the Forty-two Articles of Religion gave sanction to extreme Protestant doctrines. Edward's reign was not a bright one for the common people. Taxation was high, and taxation and oppression caused the people to be very restless. Mary tried to restore the old religion. Parliament was obedient, and after five years of Protestant ascendancy the religious services of Henry VIII were again adopted. Mary endeavoured to uproot the new religion and sent nearly three hundred to the stake, including Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and many other distinguished Protestants. She married a Catholic, and her zeal for the old religion frightened the nation, and Protestantism and patriotism were looked upon by the people as the same thing.

Elizabeth succeeded, and Protestantism was again triumphant. The queen was not bigoted, but was insistent on her own supremacy. She called good men to her assistance, and, while she had no enthusiasm for Protestantism, she reformed, but did not abolish, the old system. The Pope now issued the final document in the breach between England and Rome. Henceforth no one could be loyal to the queen and obey the Pope. The Armada was defeated by the energy and loyalty of the private gentlemen of Eng-

land. The Protestants broke up into parties—one sect favoured Presbyterianism, while the extremists were known as Puritans. The Court of High Commission enforced severe discipline, and the Presbyterians and Puritans were persecuted. Persecution promoted religious dissent, and when Elizabeth died she left to James and Charles a problem, solved only after civil war and revolution. Persecution deepened the religious convictions of the Independents and made many restless at home, and, in the reign of James, drove them to the wilds of America, dominated by new views of religious and civil liberty. Elizabeth was not partial to parliaments. She said there were laws enough already, and as she obtained money by the sale of monopolies and was of a saving disposition, she managed by calling Parliament together thirteen times in forty-four years.

James came from Scotland, where Presbyterianism had gained a strong foothold under John Knox, without bloodshed. The Puritans looked to James with much hope, as he had been reared amid Presbyterian surroundings. The Puritans were literal and stood in some cases upon trifles, and the church did not make the smallest concessions to them. James played with both parties for a time, then favoured the church, and the church used its triumph. The Gunpowder Plot greatly stirred the people, and Parliament enacted severe laws for the protection of the Crown. James needed money, and proceeded to get it in illegal ways. He originated and sold a new title—baronet—also sold peerages and high offices, exacted purveyance, levied benevolences, sold mono-

polies, such as glass, licenses of hotels, etc. The Parliament that had been restless under Elizabeth protested, the second quarrelled with the king, and the third was not called for seven years. James had no understanding of the English nature and of the history of English institutions. He claimed that he alone must decide who might, and who might not, sit in the House of Commons, and that Parliament could debate only those matters of public policy deputed to it by him.

In 1621 the Parliament condemned James's whole system of raising money, and attacked some of his friends for profiting by it. One favourite had the monopoly of licensing hotels at any fee he saw fit, on condition of paying a part of it to the royal treasury. He had given licenses to inns that local authorities desired to close as disorderly houses. He had levied fines upon thousands of inn-keepers guilty of no real offence against the state. He was a Member of Parliament, and the Parliament condemned him to ride along the Strand with his head towards the horse's tail, to be fined, and to be imprisoned for life. If all the men who have made an illegal profit out of the liquor business in modern times were similarly punished, the demand for horses would exceed that for the army. The Parliament forced James to abolish all monopoly, save new inventions—the modern patent rights. Bacon supported the king, but the House of Commons convicted him of taking bribes while on the Bench, and he was dismissed from office and heavily fined. It was in this

time that Raleigh founded Virginia and introduced potatoes and tobacco into England.

Charles I was narrow in intellect, lacking in sympathy, untruthful in speech, but with a high sense of kingly dignity. England had reached a stage that required tact, forbearance, and wisdom, in order to reconcile the old system with the changes wrapped up in the newly-won liberties. It is said that what is called obstinacy in a mule is termed firmness in a king, and in this sense Charles I was firm. His mind rejected new ideas. When Parliament asked for an accounting of amounts voted and named the king's friend, Buckingham, as the cause of trouble in the nation, Charles dismissed the Parliament, resolved to make no concessions to the spirit of the age. On the other hand, men like Eliot and Pym pressed the claims of Parliament, and, suspecting the king's Protestantism, opposed him also on religious grounds. Charles was a liberal Protestant. He didn't share the horror of Catholicism that the English Protestants did; he liked the ritual, hated Calvinism and the strict Puritan Sabbath. The nation could not understand how one so tolerant in this regard could be a Protestant at heart. The next Parliament impeached Buckingham for maladministration and corrupt use of public funds, and Charles dissolved the House without getting any revenue. The Star Chamber, as was to be expected, dismissed the impeachment.

In 1628 the need of money compelled Charles again to call Parliament. It had a new grievance, for he had impeached some of the members. A Petition

of Right was presented to the king re-asserting the ancient liberties of the Great Charter—that Englishmen were to be free from arbitrary imprisonment and from taxes levied without consent of Parliament, and the Commons would not grant any money till he consented to its terms. He consented, but went on collecting tonnage and poundage, and the Star Chamber fined those resisting payment. Charles was determined to rule as Henry VIII and Elizabeth had done, but he had not the tact to avoid direct conflict with the Parliament, nor to recognize that he had strong men filled with a high sense of duty to contend against. Leaders like Eliot and Pym were fighting for the principles of religious and political liberty. In 1629 the king ordered the members to disperse without further debating on political or religious questions. This was a direct interference with the right of free speech in Parliament, and Parliament hastily passed resolutions condemning innovations in religion and the levying of tonnage and poundage without the consent of Parliament. Charles met defiance with defiance, dissolved the House, which did not meet again for eleven years, and proceeded to imprison those who offered opposition to him.

Archbishop Laud, a favourite of Charles, violated Puritan prejudice at every turn. He believed in the Divine right of kings and bishops, and disliked the vehemence of the Puritan party and their narrow Sabbath and Calvinistic doctrines, and their want of reverence for traditions. He was especially opposed to the importance the Puritans

placed on the rights of the laity, whose whole duty, according to his ideas, was to obey and keep silent. Most of the people disliked Laud, who concentrated his energies against the Puritans, many of whom emigrated, and sympathy for the persecuted sect soon placed the nation in alliance with the sufferers. The question of illegal taxation came up again. The courts, controlled by the king, were ready to do his bidding. The Privy Councillors usurped the functions of the Parliament and proceeded to legislate for the nation, so that hardly a trace of constitutional government remained. The Earl of Strafford, very wealthy and of ancient lineage, became President of the Council of the North and practically ruler of nearly half of England. He had little use for the vulgar Puritans and was anxious to apply the "thorough system", which he had used in Ireland, in England also.

Meanwhile, Charles and Laud had endeavoured to re-organize the Scottish Church, and they had gone about it with characteristic want of tact. The Scottish National Assembly refused to obey the new orders and an appeal was made to arms. Scotland was now openly in revolt. In England, John Hampden, a wealthy county gentleman, refused to pay his "ship money" tax. The judges, by a bare majority, decided in favour of the tax, but the situation was so serious that Charles summoned Strafford from Ireland. Strafford advised Charles to call the English Parliament together to give aid against Scotland. The first Parliament in eleven years met in 1640 and sat for

three weeks. Charles explained that England was menaced from Scotland and that he needed money to repel the enemy. But the Commons demanded redress of grievances and told the king that his policy was a worse menace than the Scots, while Pym made a marked speech against the innovations in the ritual and the levying of illegal taxes. Charles dissolved the Parliament again without getting a grant. He then tried to get assistance from Spain—France—the Pope even, but was not successful. The Scots invaded England and Charles was forced to call Parliament once more—the celebrated Long Parliament that lasted twenty years. From the first it waged determined war on Charles's policy. Strafford was impeached by a special Bill of Attainder passed by both Houses after much discussion and was sent to the block, while Laud was imprisoned.

Parliament, now supreme, passed an Act insuring its own meeting every third year, that it might not be dissolved without its own consent, and it dissolved the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission. The "Grand Remonstrance" was drawn up, giving a list of grievances and asking that Parliament should control the king's ministers and that church matters should be dealt with by an Assembly of Divines appointed by Parliament. The Remonstrance was passed by a bare majority, and Charles concluded that the extraordinary claims of Parliament were creating opposition favourable to him. He impeached Pym, Hampden, and three others for high treason for aiding the Scots, and civil war began. The nobility, the landed gentry, the "caval-

ier'' class were with Charles; the towns, the trading classes, and such gentry as had come under the influence of the revived religious spirit of the times and held to Puritanism were with the Parliament. The war was waged ruthlessly. Oliver Cromwell became leader and defeated the Royalists. The victors seized Charles's correspondence, and it showed that he was endeavouring to secure Catholic assistance to reduce England: this produced strong influence against the king.

But the Presbyterians wanted to make England Presbyterian and the Puritans wanted freedom of worship among Protestants. With the withdrawal of the Scottish army the Presbyterian cause was weakened. The Presbyterians, supported by Parliament, desired to establish their religion and restore Charles: the Puritans, supported by the Army, demanded, not Presbyterian uniformity, but toleration in religion, reforms in government, and order in Ireland. The Army soon became masters of the situation and tried for a settlement with Charles on the basis of religious toleration for all Protestants, and parliamentary control of the government. Charles remained obstinate. Up to this time few, if any, had thought of doing without a king. In October, Oliver Cromwell made a three hours' speech in favour of Monarchy, but in November he had relinquished all idea of coming to terms with Charles. The Parliament controlled by the Presbyterians was ready to adopt Presbyterianism as the national religion to the suppression of all others, and part of the fleet and land forces of Scot-

land and Wales gave the Parliament support. The war was renewed. The Army defeated Wales and Scotland and again made an offer to Charles. He again refused and was brought to the block.

Public opinion in England did not approve of the execution of Charles, but the Army deemed it a cruel necessity. Power was now in the Rump Parliament, which asserted its authority with rigid decision. It abolished the House of Lords and the office of king and declared England a republic, without consulting the opinion of the nation as a whole. A Council of State and its committees ruled the land. There was war in Ireland and Scotland, and with the Dutch. The Long Parliament had lost its vitality. Some members were growing rich through bribes and spoils, money was raised by questionable methods, the property of the king was sold and royalist estates were confiscated. Partiality, injustice, selfishness, monopoly of office, all the faults of a narrow oligarchy, were charged against the Parliament, while those in earnest, and especially the Army officers, demanded a really reformed government. Parliament finally introduced a Bill to make its own existence permanent—there were to be no more general elections, just bye-elections to fill vacancies as they occurred. Cromwell charged the Parliament with abuse of power, the House with profligacy, drunkenness, and corruption, and expelled the Long Parliament by force.

Cromwell selected a Parliament through the Independent Church. It was known as the "little" or "Barebones" Parliament. This Parliament did

its best, but there was no single head of state, as was required by the English form of government, and no provision for an election in which the whole nation could be appealed to. It soon dissolved and handed the power back to Cromwell, who became Protector. The Puritan party was broken into—Monarchy men—Levellers—Republicans—Baptists—Presbyterians—Quakers. Its political power was weakened, but Cromwell remained the steady friend of free opinion. The old Rump Parliament was recalled. A desire for Stuart restoration sprang up; the Army dissolved the Rump. Monk came from Scotland, called the Rump and those who had been expelled from it together, and within a week it voted for the restoration of Charles the Second, and then dissolved itself.

Charles the Second came to the throne under favourable conditions. The restoration was welcomed by the Independents, Presbyterians, and Cavaliers and even the Army did not dissent. Instead of taking advantage of the times, Charles showed petty spite towards his father's opponents and had a number put to death. With the Stuart failing, he chose as a favourite Clarendon, who was determined to restore the Church of England and to tolerate neither Catholics nor Nonconformists. The new Parliament was devoted to the king and the church and, by the Act of Uniformity, made episcopacy the only form of church government, and about two thousand five hundred ministers were ejected from their churches. Charles was not inclined to be intolerant and announced that the laws

against the Nonconformists would not be enforced. This at once raised the question whether in church matters the king's authority was above that of Parliament. The Lords and Commons took up the matter and forced Charles to recall his Declaration of Indulgence, while the Cavalier party, dominant in Parliament, refused to allow any degree of tolerance and proceeded to persecute all outside of the Established Church. In spite of the experience they had gone through, they were convinced that by dealing harshly they could destroy the Nonconformists; but, as usual, religious convictions were only deepened by persecution. Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, all went on fearlessly and taught the government that if toleration was not a duty, it was at least a necessity.

The court became notoriously immoral. The nation's money was wasted in profligacy. The king evaded an open break with Parliament, but was nevertheless determined to rule as he liked. There was a disastrous war with the Dutch, then the Plague, followed by the Great Fire, and these roused the people and Clarendon was banished. But Charles was in the pay of Louis XIV and, as a consideration for advances, had promised to restore Roman Catholicism. The Parliament had passed the Test Act, compelling every office holder to repudiate transubstantiation and to accept the Sacrament of the Church of England. The struggle continued. Prominent men were put in prison and the Habeas Corpus Act was passed. The Parliament endeavoured to exclude the Duke of York from the succession on the

grounds of his religion, and the supporters of the Duke of York became known as Tories and the supporters of the Parliament as Whigs. At the time of the death of Charles, Tory reaction prevailed throughout the nation. No Parliament had met for four years; the Anglican clergy were preaching that on no ground might arms be taken up against the king; the machinery of government was in the king's hands, and apparently the nation was quietly accepting existing conditions.

James II ascended the throne fully resolved (1) to undo past injuries to his friends and party, and (2) to restore the Catholic religion. He had the unwavering Stuart belief that the king was above the laws and had power to suspend them. He began by levying illegal taxes and appointing Roman Catholics to office and to the Army in direct violation of the Test Act. Parliament protested. He dismissed it and ruled alone. The Anglican Church was loyal, but thoroughly Protestant in tone. James passed a Declaration of Indulgence, doing away with religious tests on office holders and removing any restrictions on the public worship of those who differed from the Church of England. The Quakers supported James in this, but most of the Protestant dissenters opposed all indulgences to the Roman Catholics. Seven bishops refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence from their pulpits and were brought to trial and acquitted. The day of the acquittal William of Orange was invited to save England. He accepted the invitation, landed in England, and James fled to France.

1. What effect had the fall of Rome on European nations? 2. Show how the fall of Constantinople had an opposite effect? 3. Who was Savonarola, Erasmus, Copernicus? 4. Mention some of the agencies that contributed to the new mental and spiritual forces of the British people of this period. 5. Name three periods of growth of the British constitution, and give the chief events of each period. 6. How did the Tudors become absolute rulers? 7. In what respects did the Tudors differ from the Stuarts? From the Lancastrians? 8. Give examples of Henry the Seventh's absolute power. 9. How did the Tudors raise money? 10. What Tudor sovereigns opposed the supremacy of the Catholic Church, rather than its doctrines? 11. Give chief events of Edward the Sixth's reign—Mary's reign. 12. Define Henry VIII's attitude to the Roman Church—to the monasteries. 13. How did the spoliation of the religious houses aid the king in being independent of Parliament? 14. Name the various methods Henry took to raise money. 15. What was Edward VI's attitude towards the church—religion—the common people? 16. What led the people to look upon Protestantism and patriotism as the same thing? 17. How did Elizabeth deal with the opposing religions? 18. How did the final breach with Rome occur? 19. Name some of the sects that divided Protestantism. 20. What is the general effect of persecution? 21. How did Elizabeth evade calling Parliaments, and why? 22. What was the church policy of James the First? 23. What event caused Parliament to pass severe laws against the Catholics? 24. How did James raise money? 25. Contrast the Tudors and the Stuarts in their dealings with Parliament. 26. What restrictions did James place on constitutional rights? 27. Explain how the inlicense monopoly was carried on. 28. Give briefly the character of Charles I. 29. Show how the Stuarts were unfortunate in their choice of favourites. 30. What was the Petition of Right? 31. Was any new constitutional principle contained in it? 32. How did Charles raise money without consent of Parliament? 33. Why were the parliamentary leaders so strongly opposed to Charles? 34. What two grievances had the Parliament against Charles? 35. How did Laud's influence injure the king?

36. Name the illegal courts of this period. 37. What was the effect of Strafford's "thorough" system in Ireland? 38. How did Charles and Laud come into conflict with the Scots? 39. State briefly John Hampden's case. 40. What was the Grand Remonstrance? 41. How did the nation divide in the Civil War? 42. How did the demands of the Presbyterians and the Puritans differ? 43. What power had each for support? 44. Quote instances to show that the Parliament did not desire to drive Charles from the throne? 45. Why did Charles not accept the terms? 46. How did the public regard the execution of Charles? 47. Give instances of the decay of the Long Parliament. 48. How did it seek to become an oligarchy? 49. How did Cromwell deal with it? 50. What was the method taken by Cromwell to secure a new Parliament? 51. Why was the "Barebones" Parliament a failure? 52. What weakened the political power of the Puritans? 53. In what respect was Puritanism a failure—a success? 54. Give proof that national opinion at this time was strong for monarchy. 55. What mistake did Charles II make that brought him into conflict with the Parliament? 56. How were the Nonconformists treated by Charles, and with what results? 57. Show that toleration was a necessity of the time, even if not a duty. 58. What led to the passing of the Test Act and the Habeas Corpus Act? 59. Was any new principle enunciated in the Habeas Corpus Act?

FOR DISCUSSION

Extracts from "Kenilworth" by Sir Walter Scott:

" 'Not so', said the young man, colouring, 'not while Ireland and the Netherlands have wars and not while the sea hath pathless waves. The rich West hath lands undreamed of and Britain contains bold hearts to venture on the conquest of them.' "

" 'There are two things scarce matched in the universe—the sun in Heaven and the Thames on earth.' "

“The night had been rainy, and just where the young gentleman stood a small quantity of mud interrupted the Queen’s passage. As she hesitated to pass on, the gallant, throwing his cloak from his shoulders, laid it on the miry spot so as to insure her stepping over it dry shod.”

“I tell you, no king in Christendom will less brook his court to be cumbered, his people oppressed and his kingdom’s peace disturbed by the arrogance of over-grown power than she who now speaks with you.”

“He that would climb to the eagle’s nest, my lord, cares not who are catching linnets at the foot of the precipice.”

“In fact, Queen Elizabeth had a character strangely compounded of the strongest masculine sense with those foibles which are chiefly supposed proper to the female sex. Her subjects had the full benefit of her virtues which far predominated over her weaknesses, but her courtiers and those about her person had often to sustain sudden and embarrassing turns of caprice and the sallies of a temper which was both jealous and despotic.”

“Some antiquaries ascribe its foundation to the time of Kenelph, from whom the castle had its name, a Saxon King of Mercia, and others to an early era after the Norman Conquest. On the exterior walls frowned the scutcheon of the Clintons, by whom they were founded in the reign of Henry I, and of the yet more redoubted Simon de Montfort, by whom, during the Barons’ War, Kenilworth was long held out against Henry III. Here Mortimer,

Earl of March, famous alike for his rise and his fall, had once gaily revelled in Kenilworth, while his dethroned sovereign, Edward II languished in its dungeons. Old John of Gaunt, 'Time honoured Lancaster', had widely extended the castle and Leicester himself had outdone the former possessors, princely and powerful as they were, by erecting an immense structure, which now lies crushed under its own ruins, the monument of its owner's ambition."

"In our presence the meanest of our subjects shall be heard against the proudest and the least known against the most favoured."

"The Queen stood gazing after him and murmured to herself, 'Were it possible—were it *but* possible—but no, no, Elizabeth must be the wife and mother of England alone.'"

"Extricate yourself at once, my lord, from the tyranny of these disgraceful trammels. Be like a true English gentleman, knight and earl, who holds that truth is the foundation of honour and that honour is dear to him as the breath of his nostrils."

"This is not like other thrones which can be overturned by a combination of powerful nobles. The broad foundations which support it are in the extended love and affections of the people. You might share it with Elizabeth if you would, but neither yours nor any other power, foreign or domestic, will avail to overthrow or even to shake it."

"Thus', she said, 'The Englishman had from the ancient Briton his bold and tameless spirit of freedom—from the Roman his disciplined courage in

war, with his love of letters and civilization in time of peace—from the Saxon his wise and equitable laws—and from the chivalrous Normans his love of honour and courtesy with his generous desire for glory.’ ”

1. Mention some of the attractions for men of adventurous life in the days of Queen Elizabeth. 2. Give reasons for the Englishman's love of the Thames. 3. What queen is referred to? 4. Who was the young gentleman who threw down his cloak? 5. Is it true that Elizabeth would not “brook her court to be cumbered, her people oppressed, etc.”, by the arrogance of overgrown power? Give reasons for your answer. 6. Explain the meaning of “He that would climb to the eagle's nest cares not who are catching linnets at the foot of the precipice”. 7. In what way did Elizabeth's subjects have the advantage over her courtiers? 8. Give a brief account of the origin and owners of Kenilworth Castle. 9. Explain what Elizabeth meant by saying: “Were it possible—were it but possible—but, no, no. Elizabeth must be the wife and mother of England alone.” 10. Who made use of the appeal commencing with the words, “Extricate yourself at once, my lord, from the tyranny of these disgraceful trammels”? 11. To whom was the appeal made, and on what occasion? 12. Discuss the statement that England's throne is not like other thrones. 13. Upon what foundation does the British throne rest? 14. Name the qualities which, according to Scott, the Englishman derived from the different races of his ancestors.

(2) Sir Walter Raleigh:

“Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the gifted men who enjoyed the favour of Elizabeth, and who repaid her bounty by devoted service. He undertook several voyages to the new world and was the first Englishman to attempt to found a colony in America. Hence he is sometimes called ‘the father of the United States’. Soon after James's accession

Raleigh was arrested on a charge of treason and condemned to death. The sentence was not executed until fifteen years later, and during the greater part of the intervening time this man of genius was held a prisoner in the Tower, where he whiled away the dreary days in writing a history of the world.

“The name of Sir Walter Raleigh is unquestionably one of the most renowned and attractive and, in some respects, the most remarkable in English history. He acted a part in all the various functions of public life, military, naval, and civil, and was illustrious in all. He was a projector on the grandest scale, an improver of naval architecture, a founder of colonies, a promoter of distant commerce, the introducer or disseminator of two important articles of subsistence and luxury (potatoes and tobacco). He, in a vast degree, contributed to augment the food and to modify the habits of all the nations of Europe. His fortunes were alike remarkable for enviable success and pitiable reverses. Raised to an eminent station through the favour of the greatest female sovereign of England, he perished on the scaffold through the dislike and cowardly policy of the meanest of her kings.”

1. For what is the name of Sir Walter Raleigh renowned and attractive? 2. Name some of the various functions of public life in which Raleigh took part. 3. Give a brief account of Raleigh's efforts to improve naval architecture. 4. Give an account of Raleigh's attempt to plant colonies in America. 5. Show how Raleigh contributed to augment the food and to modify the habits of the nations of Europe. 6. Give examples of the high success attained by Raleigh

under Queen Elizabeth. 7. For what cause was he put to death? 8. How long was he in prison, and how did he improve his time while there?

III. John Milton—on Cromwell.

(After the execution of Charles I, the monarchy was abolished and a republic was attempted, with Oliver Cromwell at its head. His task was one of supreme difficulty. Prince Charles had been proclaimed king by the Scots, and the conquest of England attempted. The victories of Dunbar and Worcester put an end to this invasion. But an even more serious danger grew out of dissensions among the republicans themselves. Parliamentarians, Presbyterians, Puritans, and Levellers were advocating their various schemes for the regulation of church and government, and each party was endeavouring to force an acceptance of its opinions upon the distracted nation. Cromwell was obliged to resort to tyrannical measures in order to retain his authority over the Parliament and the nation.)

“Cromwell, our chief of men, who, through a cloud
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,
 Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough’d,
 And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
 Hast rear’d God’s trophies, and his work pursued,
 While Darwin stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
 And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,
 And Worcester’s laureate wreath. Yet much remains
 To conquer still; Peace hath her victories
 No less renown’d than War; new foes arise,
 Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains;
 Help us to save free conscience from the law
 Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.”

1. Explain the reference to “detractions rude”. 2. What was the religious faith of Cromwell? 3. What was the result of the Battle of Preston, referred to here as Darwin stream? 4. Explain the reference in the line “Yet much

remains to conquer still". 5. State briefly the attempt made to induce Parliament to levy tithes for the support of the Presbyterian clergy. 6. Whom did Milton mean by "hiring wolves"? 7. Explain fully the expression, "whose gospel is their maw".

IV. Cromwell—at the Meeting of his Second Parliament:

"But when we are brought into the right way we shall be merciful as well as orthodox; and we know who it is that saith, 'If a man could speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet want *that* he is but sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.' "

"Therefore, I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work'. And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm: that is a rare Psalm for a Christian,—and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we shall hear him say, 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble'. If Pope and Spaniard, and devil and all, set themselves against us—though they should 'compass us like bees', as it is in the Hundred and eighteenth Psalm, yet in the name of Lord we shall destroy them. And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's: 'We will not fear though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea: though the waters thereof roar and be troubled: though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof'. 'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God. God is in the midst of her; She shall not be moved.' 'The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.'

"I have done. All I have to say is, to pray God that he may bless you with His presence, that He

who has your hearts and mine would show His presence in the midst of us.

“I desire you will go together and choose your Speaker.”

1. State some of the causes of the success of Cromwell and his army. 2. How did Cromwell attempt to form a Parliament, and with what success? 3. Why did Puritanism fail from a political standpoint? 4. Compare Cromwell, Gladstone, and Lloyd George as Christian statesmen.

CHAPTER XVII

DEVELOPMENT OF RESPONSIBLE AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

William called a Convention (not being a king, he could not call a Parliament), and in 1689 the Bill of Rights set out in definite terms the liberties claimed by the nation. The king agreed:

1. That no taxes were to be levied and no standing army to be kept in time of peace without the consent of Parliament;
2. That the king could not suspend the laws;
3. That subjects might freely petition the Crown;
4. That elections should be free;
5. That no one should suffer illegal penalties.

As William's chief object was to use England in his fight against France, he was quite willing that Parliament should govern home affairs. Scotland accepted William and Mary, and Presbyterianism was made the state religion in that country. The Irish favoured James, but were defeated and suffered extreme oppression. It was said of the times:—"The king thinks all, the queen says all, and the Parliament does all". William checked religious strife, but was tolerant. He promoted great reforms, adjusted the coinage, aided in organizing the Bank of England, which loaned him £1,200,000 at 8 per cent. The money was supplied by the Whigs chiefly,

and the loan aided in establishing the king on the throne, as it was generally believed that, if a Stuart were restored, the debt would be repudiated. The Whigs and Tories entered upon a party struggle in which the Whigs won out, and towards the end of his reign William chose his Ministers from the dominant party, forming a sort of modern Cabinet or "Junta" of Whigs, who controlled the Commons and the Crown until the reign of George the Third. An important constitutional Act of the reign was the passing of the Triennial Bill, which made it necessary to have a new election every third year.

The Whigs continued in power during the reign of Anne. The Duke of Marlborough proved to be a statesman as well as a general, and he had for his ally Godolphin, who was a financial genius. Marlborough was not a strong party man and at first favoured the Tories; but the Whigs were the war party and he soon turned to them. The Tories were for peace with France, favoured keeping dissenters out of office and not allowing them to teach the youth of the land, and many of them favoured the Stuart succession. The Whigs glorified the Revolution, approved of concessions to dissenters and desired more, and they looked to the House of Hanover for a Protestant successor to Anne. The queen quarrelled with the Duke of Marlborough and turned to Harley, Earl of Oxford, the leader of the Tories. Marlborough and the Whigs, the war party, went out, and the Peace of Utrecht was signed. Anne soon dismissed Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Bolingbroke, an open supporter of the Stuarts, saw power

within his grasp, when the death of Anne changed the whole course of event. If Bolingbroke had had time to perfect his plans, the Stuart line would have been restored.

George I depended on the Whigs for support. They won in the election and passed the Septennial Act, extending the life of Parliament to seven years, so as to have a longer time to get established before another election came on. Before the seven years were up, the country appeared reconciled to Whig rule. The reasons for this content were that the Whigs were friends of trade and thus gained the support of the commercial classes. They were the friends of tolerance, which the spirit of the age favoured, and they ruled according to the dictates of common sense, which appealed to the nation at large. Bolingbroke, the first great Tory, told his party that they must look to the Stuart Pretender, but the Tory squires were not prepared to sacrifice the Protestant religion for a Stuart sovereign, so they kept quiet and made the best of the matter. Walpole became leader of the Whigs and England's first Prime Minister. This was because George could not speak English, so Walpole had to act for him as director of the Ministry.

Walpole continued under George II and organized the party system. No modern supporter of the spoils system could improve on Walpole's patronage to party friends. But he also developed a policy of peace, attempted no great changes, left troublesome questions alone, and promoted landed and commercial interests. He saved England

from a Whig oligarchy by his defeat of the Peerage Bill, which sought to limit the power of the Crown to create new peers. His Excise Bill was misrepresented and withdrawn, but was along lines afterwards followed. The way for free trade was also paved by the putting of one hundred and fifty articles on the free list. The nation forced a war with Spain against Walpole's wishes, and then blamed him for its unsuccessful issue and forced him to resign. It is doubtful if Walpole should have remained in office and assumed the conduct of a war to which he was opposed. There was no strong man to succeed him and, Carteret (Earl Granville) and the Duke of Newcastle divided the power. Henry Pelham succeeded them and held office for ten years. William Pitt joined Newcastle in 1757 and carried all before him.

The supreme ambition of George III was to rule England in person and not be controlled by Pitt or any other Minister. Pitt resigned in 1761 and was succeeded by Newcastle, who soon gave way to Bute, a favourite with the king. He held office for a short time, when Grenville took his place, and he, in a short time, gave way to Rockingham, who, in 1766, gave place to the Duke of Grafton as Prime Minister, with Pitt in the House of Lords as the real director of the Ministry. Four years later the king secured a Minister to his liking in Lord North, who for twelve years was his servile agent. George wanted each Minister to be responsible to him alone and he used every means to secure control of a majority in the Parliament. He drove

out his opponents and outdid Walpole in his use of the spoils system of patronage. The wide expansion of trade and rapid increase of wealth favoured the king. Peculiar conditions in the House of Commons gave him a chance to work his will. For one hundred and fifty years there had been no change in the conditions. Deserted boroughs sent one or two members and new places none at all. Nearly half the members of the House of Commons at this time held positions under the government. George was his own High Priest of corruption and took the most direct route to secure absolute power.

John Wilkes ventured to criticize the king's speech at the opening of Parliament and was expelled. The people, supported by the able letters of Junius, took sides with Wilkes and he became a martyr. Huge public meetings were held for the first time, and discussion added its weight to the side of reform. It is said that the birth of radicalism can be ascribed to this period. In 1872 North was succeeded by Rockingham, a Whig, who died in the next year, when Shelburne followed for a short time. Then William Pitt the younger, a Whig with Tory support, took office and held it in spite of the fierce assaults of men like Fox, Burke, and North. Though the Whigs had closed the American question, they had solved the problem by acknowledging defeat, and for a long time the reins of power were withheld from them in England. The terrors of the French Revolution aided the Tory reaction, and for forty years the nation was swayed by the influences of the friends of monarchy and of the established church. Even

Burke was frightened by the terrible revenge the French people wrecked upon the upper classes and led the Whigs to support Pitt in the French war. Fox does not appear to have been affected by these influences. There is no doubt but that the purity of the younger Pitt's conduct, the higher tone he gave English public life, his masterly exhibition of strength and courage in a time of great national danger, mark him as a really great force in the history of his country. Shelburne succeeded Pitt, with Fox as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but Fox died soon after. Shelburne endeavoured to have Catholics admitted to the army and navy, but George III dismissed his Ministry and a new election returned a strong Tory, anti-Catholic majority. Three mediocre Tory Ministers followed—the Duke of Portland, Percival, and the Earl of Liverpool.

One of the results of the French Revolution was the Irish Union. In spite of all that Grattan had done for Ireland, conditions in that country were very discouraging. No Roman Catholic could own a horse worth more than £5, or carry arms, or buy land, or practise law or medicine, or teach school. It is doubtless true that Pitt held out some promise of relief to the Irish in order to secure the Union, but after it was an accomplished fact the king did not consent to the fulfilment of the promise, and Pitt resigned. Parliamentary reform and relief for the Catholics were questions that were coming more and more into prominence, and immense public meetings took place at Birmingham and Manchester, demanding radical reform. To coerce the restless masses

Liverpool passed the famous "Six Acts", placing severe restrictions upon the press, upon outdoor meetings, and upon keeping and using arms. George III died in 1820. His personal character always commanded respect, and even his enemies looked upon him as a benevolent despot.

George IV, who had been regent for ten years, owing to the king's insanity, was always unpopular and was despised even by so ardent a supporter of the throne as the Duke of Wellington. The Tory tenure of office was not disturbed by the accession of the new king, but the Catholics were clamouring for political relief and the unenfranchised masses for the suffrage, and both demands grew steadily in favour, so that when Lord Liverpool retired in 1827, it was apparent that the Tory party had become greatly weakened. The king called on Canning, the foremost Tory orator, to form a government, but Canning favoured giving relief to the Catholics, and Wellington, Peel, and other leading Tories refused to help him, and he had to depend upon Whigs for support. Perhaps Canning would have led the more liberal wing of the Tory party into new paths, as Peel did later, but he was Prime Minister only from April to August, when his brilliant career was cut short by death. Soon after, the Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister. He was thoroughly honest and manly, but, perhaps owing to his military training, he considered that the upper classes possessed the inherent right to govern the state and that it was the duty of the masses to obey. The Whigs, led by Lord John Russell and supported

strongly by the middle classes, forced the Duke to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. The same year Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, won the constituency of Clare from the Beresfords, but the law did not permit him to take his seat. There was serious agitation; the Duke finally yielded and, in spite of the king's opposition and of considerable Tory clamour, passed the Catholic Emancipation Act.

The bluff and honest William IV came to the throne friendly to reform, but the Duke of Wellington did not yield. An election was held and Wellington was defeated and forced to retire from office, and was succeeded by Earl Grey, a Whig of the old school. Lord John Russell, a member of Grey's Cabinet, introduced the Reform Bill into the House of Commons. It passed the Commons by one vote and the House of Lords threw it out. Grey appealed to the country and was sustained by a great majority, but the Lords still rejected the Bill. Grey resigned. Riots broke out—Bristol was for days in the hands of a mob, many buildings were burned, there was a run on the bank, and popular anger against the privileged classes was bitter. The Tories could not form a Ministry, so the king had to recall Grey and agree to create, if necessary, enough new peers to force the Bill through the House of Lords. This threat succeeded. The Tory peers refrained from voting and the Bill became law.

The Reform Bill of 1832 caused something like a revolution in English political life. One hun-

dred and forty-three old seats were abolished and proper representation was given to Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, London, and other populous centres. Above all, the franchise was extended to those in towns who paid a rental of £10. The Bill gave political power, not to the working-man—that was to come later—but to the small farmer in the country and to the small shop-keeper in the towns. This reform sufficed for a time, but it was inevitable that the still unenfranchised multitudes should demand the suffrage, and before the century closed two further Reform Bills were passed, giving, in the end, political power to the labouring classes.

As has been said, Earl Grey was a Whig of the old school and did not favour democracy. He refused to yield to what he termed the radical demands of the people and gave way to Lord Melbourne. Two years later William died and was succeeded by Victoria. The Whigs were defeated in 1839, because they belonged to the aristocratic classes and had behind them no popular enthusiasm. Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister from 1841 to 1846. The old Toryism was crumbling into decay. We have already seen how Canning broke with his party on the question of relief to the Catholics, and now close thought and study led Peel to attack the Corn Laws. Rigid Whigs and Tories both supported the Corn Laws, but Peel, with the assistance of men like Lord John Russell, John Bright, and Richard Cobden, in spite of tremendous opposition, carried the Repeal in 1846.

On the very day of the final Repeal of the Corn Laws Peel was defeated on the Irish question, and Lord John Russell became the head of a Whig Ministry, which lasted until 1852. Lord John took an especial interest in domestic affairs, while his Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, devoted himself to foreign affairs. Both political parties were more or less shaken up. The Tory party was disrupted on the question of free trade and the Whig party on the question of the Chartists and further reform. This breakdown of party traditions paved the way for a new Toryism, which was soon after organized on a popular basis by Disraeli as "Conservatism". The Whig aristocracy had little in common with the artisan classes and the party split into two sections—the Liberals and the thorough-going Radicals.

Palmerston had great success in voicing English public opinion in foreign affairs. His aggressiveness and habit of meddling were a constant source of trouble to the queen and the Cabinet. He was a strenuous advocate of liberal and national movements abroad and went so far as to condone, if not to encourage, revolution. Russell was forced to dismiss him in 1851, but he got his revenge by defeating the government in 1852. After Lord Derby had held office for a few months, the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry held power from 1852 to 1855. The Crimean War started during this period, and Aberdeen was found to be too peaceable and kindly for such stirring times, and the queen had to call in her old enemy, Palmerston. He prosecuted the war with

vigour, and it was brought to a close in 1856. The Indian Mutiny followed in 1857. Palmerston was defeated in 1858, but came back in 1859. Gladstone joined his Cabinet, taking the old Conservative Peelites with him. In the Civil War in the United States between the North and the South the sympathy of the aristocracy in England was with the South, while that of the middle and working classes was with the North. Strange to say, the leading Liberal Ministers, Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone were at one with the Conservative aristocracy. Palmerston died in 1865. He was liberal in foreign affairs, but in domestic politics he was an old-fashioned Whig and opposed to problems of social and political reform.

1. In what respect did James differ from Charles?
2. Give evidence that the Tories at this time were Protestants first.
3. Was the Declaration of Indulgence of James wrong in principle?
4. How was it that the Quakers were the only Protestant sect that favoured the Declaration of Indulgence?
5. Explain the action of the Seven Bishops and the result.
6. Give the chief terms of the Bill of Rights.
7. Why did William defer so much to Parliament?
8. What reforms did William introduce?
9. What principle of responsible government was now evolved?
10. What Act was passed to prevent another Long Parliament?
11. Give the policies of the political parties in Anne's reign.
12. Discuss the claims of Bolingbroke as the first great Tory statesman.
13. Why was George I favourable to the Whigs?
14. How did the Whig party win the support of the nation?
15. Give a brief sketch of the life of Walpole.
16. What constitutional principle was evolved out of the fact that the king did not speak English?
17. Show how Walpole perfected the party system.
18. What was the secret of Walpole's success?
19. If Walpole had allowed the Peerage Bill to pass, what would have been the result on legislation?
20. Name the next great Minister

after Walpole. 21. Give reasons why North held office so long. 22. Give a brief account of the dealing of the king and North with the American colonies. 23. How did George III attain almost absolute power? 24. Why did the nation turn against the Whigs? 25. What were the two leading questions of the time? 26. What claim has George III to be called a benevolent despot? 27. What caused a breach in the Tory party at the time Canning was Minister? 28. Compare the policies of the Tories under the Duke of Wellington, and the Whigs under Lord John Russell. 29. Explain the result of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. 30. Who passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, and under what circumstances? 31. State briefly what Grattan, Canning, and O'Connell did to aid the Irish. 32. Trace the history of the First Reform Bill. 33. Show that the Reform Bill advanced representative government. 34. What were the chief changes made by the Reform Bill? 35. What caused a division in the Whig party at this time? 36. What caused a division in the Tory party at this time? 37. What was the policy of the two parties after they were reorganized, and under what new names and new leaders did they appear? 38. In what way did Russell and Palmerston make strong leaders? 39. Why was Palmerston dismissed, and what effect had his dismissal on the Government? 40. When did Palmerston become Prime Minister, and why did the queen select him? 41. What was the cause of the Indian Mutiny? 42. What class in England sided with the North in the American Civil War, and why? 43. What class sympathized with the South, and why? 44. Compare Palmerston's foreign with his domestic policy. 45. What mistake did the Aberdeen Cabinet make? 46. Show how Czar Nicholas' proposal was a reasonable one, as shown by recent events. 47. What were the chief provisions of the Second Reform Bill? 48. Who passed it, and under what circumstances? 49. When, and by whom, was the Ballot Act passed? 50. What was its chief provision? 51. What was the object of the third Reform Bill? 52. Show that it was the last link in the development of the representative system. 53. Has England manhood franchise at the present time?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) Extract from "Walpole" by Bulwer Lytton:

"George's reign just begun, your tried worth will distinguish.

Oh, a true English king!

Tho' he cannot speak English,

You must find that defect a misfortune, I fear,

The reverse; for no rivals can get at his ear,

It is something to be the one public man pat in

The new language that now governs England, dog-Latin."

'Yes, the change from Queen Anne to King George we must own,

Renders me and the Whigs the sole props of the throne,

For the Tories their Jacobite leanings disgrace,

And a Whig is the only safe man for a place.'

'Let this Parliament then, under favour of heaven,
Lengthen out its existence from three years to seven.'

'Stuff! I wonder what lies the Historians will tell

When they babble of one Robert Walpole! Well, well,

Let them sneer at his blunders, declaim on his vices,

Cite the rogues whom he purchased, and rail at the prices,

They shall own that all lust for revenge he withstood;

And, if lavish of gold, he was sparing of blood;

That when England was threatened by France and by Rome,

He forced Peace from abroad and encamped her at home,

And the Freedom he left, rooted firm in mild laws,

May o'ershadow the faults of deeds done in her cause!'"

1. What king is referred to? 2. What advantage did Walpole claim to have through the fact that the king could not speak English? 3. Why were the Whigs favourites with the Georges? 4. What is meant by Parliament lengthening out its existence from three years to seven?" 5. What were some of Walpole's vices? 6. Name some of the benefits conferred upon the nation.

(2) Sir Robert Walpole—Speech against the Peerage Bill:

"The present view of the Bill is dangerous; the view to posterity, personal and unpardonable; it

will make the Lords masters of the king, according to their own confession, when they admit that a change of administration renders a new creation of peers necessary; for by precluding the king from making peers in future it at the same time precludes him from changing the present administration, who will naturally fill the vacancies with their own creatures; and the new peers will adhere to the first minister with the same zeal and unanimity as those created by Oxford adhered to him.

“How can the Lords expect the Commons to give their concurrence to a Bill by which they and their posterity are to be forever excluded from the peerage? How would they themselves receive a bill which should prevent a baron from being a viscount, a viscount a marquis, and a marquis a duke? Would they consent to limit the number of any rank of peerage? Certainly none; unless, perhaps, the dukes. If the pretence for this measure is that it will tend to secure the freedom of Parliament, I say that there are many other steps more important and less equivocal, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions.”

1. What was the object of the Peerage Bill? 2. What would have been the effect from a constitutional standpoint had it been passed?

(3) The Earl of Chatham—Reply to Sir Robert Walpole:

“The atrocious crime of being a young man, which the Honourable Gentleman has with such spirit and decency charged upon me, I shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny, but content myself with wishing that I may be one of those whose follies may

cease with their youth, and not of that number who are ignorant in spite of experience.

“Whether youth can be imputed to any man as a reproach, I will not assume the province of determining: but surely age may become justly contemptible, if the opportunities which it brings have passed away without improvement, and vice appears to prevail when the passions have subsided. The wretch who, after having seen the consequences of a thousand errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his gray head should preserve him from insults.

“Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.”

To what weaknesses in Walpole did Chatham refer?

(4) Chatham—On Taxation of the Colonies:

“I love and honour the English troops. I know their virtues and their valour. I know that they can achieve anything except impossibilities, and I know that the conquest of English America is *an impossibility*. You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly, pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow, traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to

the shambles of a foreign prince. Your efforts are forever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms, never, never, never."

1. Why did Chatham advise against any attempt to force the American colonies to submission? 2. How did he think the use of mercenaries would act upon the minds and free spirits of the colonists?

(5) Extract from "Pitt and Fox" by Sir Walter Scott:

"Here let their discord with them die;
 Speak not for those a separate doom,
 Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb,
 But search the land of living men,
 Where wilt thou find their like again?"

Name any statesmen of the present day who are entitled to rank as statesmen with Pitt and Fox.

(6) Comparison of Chatham and Fox:

Fox

Chatham

Both men were distinguished by a kind of plain, downright common sense, and by the vehemence of their manner.

Fox, in his opinions, was governed by facts.

Chatham was more influenced by the feelings of others respecting those facts.

Fox endeavoured to find out what the consequences of any measure would be.

Chatham paid more attention to what people would think of it.

Fox appealed to the practical reason of mankind.

Chatham appealed to the prejudices of the people.

Fox supplied his hearers with arguments.

Chatham roused their passions.

(7) Edmund Burke—On Conciliation with America:

“First, Sir, permit me to observe, that the use of force alone is but *temporary*. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

“My next objection is its *uncertainty*. Terror is not always the effect of force; and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed you are not without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

“A further objection to force is, that you *impair* the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole* America. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own, because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict, and still less in the midst of it. I may escape; but I can make no insurance against such an event. Let me add, that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit; because it is the spirit that has made the country.

“Lastly, we have no sort of *experience* in favour of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility have been owing to

methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so; but we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

“But there is still behind a third consideration concerning this object, which serves to determine my opinion on the sort of policy which ought to be pursued in the management of America, even more than its population and its commerce—I mean its temper and character. In this character of the Americans a love of freedom is the predominating feature, which marks and distinguishes the whole; and, as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive and untractable, whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force, or shuffle from them by chicane, what they think the only advantage worth living for. This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth, and this from a variety of powerful causes, which, to understand the true temper of their minds, and the direction which this spirit takes, it will not be amiss to lay open somewhat more largely.

“First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. England, Sir, is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are, therefore, not only de-

voted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. Liberty inheres in some sensible object; and every nation has formed to itself some favourite point which, by way of eminence, becomes the criterion of their happiness. It happened, you know, Sir, that the great contests for freedom in this country were, from the earliest times, chiefly upon the question of taxing.

“On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised; the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction concerning the importance of this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution, to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usages to reside in a certain body called the House of Commons. They went much farther; they attempted to prove (and they succeeded) that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons as an immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate, as a fundamental principle, that, in all monarchies, the people must, in effect themselves, mediately or immediately, possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could subsist. The colonies draw from you, as with their life-blood, those ideas

and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, fixed and attached on this specific point of taxing. Liberty might be safe or might be endangered in twenty other particulars, without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse; and as they found that beat they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general arguments to their own case. It is not easy, indeed, to make a monopoly of theorems and corollaries. The fact is, that they did thus apply those general arguments; and your mode of governing them, whether through lenity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake, confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in these common principles.

“They are further confirmed in these pleasing errors by the form of their provincial Legislative Assemblies. Their governments are popular in a high degree; some are merely popular; in all, the popular representative is the most weighty; and this share of the people in their ordinary governments never fails to inspire them with lofty sentiments, and with a strong aversion from whatever tends to deprive them of their chief importance.

“My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common name, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are the ideas, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonists always keep the ideas of their civil rights associated with your government. They will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to

tear them from their allegiance. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country, as a sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply the more friends you will have. The more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere—it is a weed that grows in every soil. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price of which you have the monopoly. This is the true Act of Navigation which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire.”

1. Show, after Burke, how the use of force against the American colonies was likely to produce temporary and uncertain results, and to destroy in a measure the object intended to be preserved. 2. Show how the temper and character of the American people was against being coerced. 3. Why were the American colonists particularly sensitive on the question of taxation? 4. Show how the colonists were confirmed in their ideas by the liberal charters that had been granted to them. 5. Show how the proximity of the French possessions had caused the British to exercise indulgence towards the American colonies. 6. How did Burke claim that the loyalty of the colonists might be retained?

(9) George Canning—On his Policy of Peace—1823:

“We cultivate peace, either because we fear or because we are unprepared for war. The resources created by peace are the means of war. In cherishing these resources we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town is a proof that they are devoid of strength and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know how soon one of these stupendous masses now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness, how soon, upon any call of patriotism or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion, how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage, how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of those magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself; while apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion.”

1. How do the resources created by peace become the accumulated means of war? 2. Compare Canning's reference to the navy with England's action on the outbreak of the present war. 3. In what way has England's wealth helped the cause of the Allies? 4. Why did Britain take part in the war? 5. Did she have an adequate occasion?

(10) Lord John Russell—The Reform Bill:

“A stranger who was told that this country is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and more enlightened than any country was

before it, that it is a country that prides itself on its freedom, and that once in every seven years it elects representatives from its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom, would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed and how the people choose their representatives, to whose fate and guardianship they entrust their free and liberal constitution. Such a person would be very much astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound, and told that that mound sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a stone wall and told that three niches in it sent two representatives to Parliament; if he were taken to a park where no houses were to be seen and told that that park sent two representatives to Parliament. But if he were told all this and were astonished at hearing it, he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines of every species of manufacture, and were then told that these towns sent no representatives to Parliament."

1. Explain conditions in reference to parliamentary representation in England prior to the Reform Bill. 2. Explain the reference to rotten boroughs. 3. What are the chief objections to the modern gerrymander?

(11) John Bright—On Reform:

"Two centuries ago the people of this country were engaged in a fearful conflict with the Crown. A despotic and treacherous monarch assumed to himself the right to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament and the people. That assumption was resisted. This fair island became a battlefield, the

Kingdom was convulsed, and an ancient throne overturned. And if our forefathers two hundred years ago restricted that attempt, if they refused to be the bondsmen of the king, shall we be the born slaves of an aristocracy like this? Shall we, who struck the lion down, shall we pay the wolf homage? Or shall we not by manly and united expression of public opinion, at once and forever put an end to this giant wrong? Our cause is at least as good as theirs. We stand on higher vantage ground. We have larger numbers at our back, we have more of wealth, intelligence, union, and knowledge of political rights and the true interests of the country, and what is more than this, we have a weapon, a power of machinery which is a thousand times better than that of force—I refer to a suffrage, for that is the great constitutional weapon which we intend to wield and by means of which we are sure to conquer, our laurels being gained not in bloody fields, but upon the hustings and at the polls. I trust that the people of England will bear in mind how great a panic has been created among the monopolist rulers by this small weapon which we have discovered hid in the Reform Act, and in the constitution of the country. I implore the middle and working classes to regard it as the portal of their deliverance, as the strong and irresistible weapon before which the domination of this hereditary peerage must at length be laid in the dust.”

1. What conflict between the people and the Crown does Bright refer to? 2. Explain the reference to the lion and the wolf. 3. What weapon did he claim was superior to force?

(12) Richard Cobden—On the Corn Laws:

“Protection is a very convenient vehicle for politicians; the cry of ‘protection’ won the last election; and politicians looked to secure honours, emoluments, places by it; but you, the gentry of England, are not sent up for such objects. Is, then, that old, tattered and torn flag to be kept up for the politicians, or will you come forward and declare that you are ready to inquire into the state of the agricultural interests? I cannot think that the gentlemen of England can be content to be made mere drum-heads, to be sounded by the Prime Minister of England—to be made to emit notes, but to have no articulate sounds of their own.

“You, gentlemen of England, the high aristocracy of England, your forefathers led my forefathers; you may lead us again if you choose; but though—longer than any other aristocracy—you have kept your power, while the battle-field and the hunting-field were the tests of manly vigour, you have not done as the noblesse of France or the hidalgos of Madrid have done; you have been Englishmen, not wanting in courage on any call. But this is a new age; the age of social advancement, not of feudal sports; you belong to a mercantile age; you cannot have the advantage of commercial rents and retain your feudal privileges too. If you identify yourself with the spirit of the age, you may yet do well; for I tell you that the people of this country look to their aristocracy with a deep-rooted prejudice—an hereditary prejudice, I may call it—in their favour; but your power was never got, and you will not keep it,

by obstructing the spirit of the age in which you live. If you are found obstructing that progressive spirit which is calculated to knit nations more closely together by commercial intercourse; if you give nothing but opposition to schemes which almost give life breath to inanimate nature, and which it has been decreed shall go on, then you are no longer a national body."

1. What method did Cobden point out by which the aristocracy of England might continue to lead the people? 2. Why could not the aristocracy have the advantage of commercial rents, and at the same time retain their feudal privileges? 3. In what respects had the English nobility been different from that of France and Spain? 4. In what way might the nobility lose their power?

(13) Sir Robert Peel's Last Speech—On the Repeal of the Corn Laws:

"The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with the success of these measures is the name of Richard Cobden. Without scruple, Sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him. As for myself, I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who maintains Protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot is to labour, and who earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.

"Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition

of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity—in skill—in energy, we are inferior to none. Our national character, the free institutions under which we live, the liberty of thought and action, an unshackled press spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science, combined with our natural and physical advantages to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can flourish only in the sickly, artificial atmosphere of protection? Is this the country to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition? Will it be no satisfaction to you to reflect, that by your own act, you have been relieved from the grievous responsibility of regulating the supply of food? Will you not then cherish with delight the reflection that in this the present hour of comparative prosperity, yielding to no clamour, impelled by no fear—except indeed that provident fear which is the mother of safety—you had anticipated the evil day, and long before this advent had trampled on every impediment to the free circulation of the Creator's bounty?

“When you are again exhorting a suffering people to fortitude under their privation, when you are telling them ‘These are the chastenings of an all-wise and merciful Providence, sent for some inscrutable, but just and beneficent purpose—it may be to humble our pride, or to punish our unfaithfulness,

or to impress us with the sense of our own nothingness and dependence on His mercy', when you are thus addressing your suffering fellow-subjects and encouraging them to bear without repining the dispensation of Providence, may God grant that by your decision of this night you may have laid in store for yourselves the consolation of reflecting that such calamities are, in truth the dispensations of Providence, that they have not been caused, they have not been aggravated by laws of man, restricting, in the hour of scarcity, the supply of food!"

1. Give the causes that led Peel to change his views on the Corn Laws. 2. What class of people did he expect to be remembered by? 3. To whom does he give credit for the passing of the Act? 4. What are some of the reasons Peel gives for favouring free competition and cheap food? 5. What consolation may be derived from the Repeal?

(14) John Bright—On the Work of the Anti-Corn Law League:

"We have taught the people of this country the value of a great principle. They have learned that there is nothing that can be held out to the intelligent people of this kingdom so calculated to stimulate them to action, to great and persevering action, as a great and sacred principle like that which the League has espoused. They have learned that there is in public opinion a power much greater than that residing in any particular form of government; that although you have in this kingdom a system of government which is called "popular" and "representative"—a system which is somewhat clumsily contrived, and which works with many jars and jolts—that still, under the impulse of a great principle,

with great labour and with great sacrifices, all those obstacles are overcome so that, out of a machine especially contrived for the contrary, justice and freedom are at length achieved for the nation. And the people have learned something beyond this—that is, that the way to freedom is henceforward not through violence and bloodshed.”

What, according to Bright, had the people been taught by the Anti-Corn Law League?

(15) John Bright—On the Unveiling of the Statue of Richard Cobden at Bradford in 1877:

“That which is erected in your midst is by no means the greatest monument that has been built up to him. There is one far grander and of wider significance. There is not in the country a home-stead in which there is not added comfort from his labours, not a cottage the dwellers in which have not steadier employment, higher wages, and a more solid independence. This is his enduring monument. He is gone; but his character, his deeds, his life, his example, remains a possession to his countrymen. And let this be said of him for generations to come, as long as the great men of England are spoken of in the English language: let it be said of him that Richard Cobden gave the labours of a life that he might confer upon his countrymen perfect freedom of industry, and with it not that blessing only, but its attendant blessings of plenty and of peace.”

1. What was Cobden's greatest monument? 2. In what respect was Richard Cobden a great statesman?

(16) John Bright—On the War between the North and the South:

“Mr. Gladstone, as a speaker, is not surpassed by any man in England, and he is a great statesman. He believes the cause of the North to be hopeless, and that their enterprise cannot succeed. I have another and a far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be a vision, but I will cherish it. I see one vast confederation, stretching from the great North in unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people and one language, and one law and one faith, and, over all of that wide continent, the home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime.”

1. In what respect did Gladstone and Bright differ on the cause of the North in the Civil War? 2. Give Bright's forecast, and show to what extent it has been verified.

(17) John Bright—On Reform:

“I believe that ignorance and suffering might be lessened to an incalculable extent and that many an Eden, beauteous in flowers and rich in fruits, might be raised up in the waste wilderness which spreads before us. But no class can do that. The class which has hitherto ruled in this country has failed miserably. It revels in power and wealth, whilst at its feet, a terrible peril for its future, lies the multitude which it has neglected. If a class has failed, let us try the nation. That is our faith, that is our purpose, that is our cry—Let us try the nation. This it is which has called together these countless numbers of the people to demand a change; and, as I think of it, and of these gatherings, sublime in their vastness and in their resolution, I think I see, as it

were, above the hill-tops of time, the glimmerings of the dawn of a better and a nobler day for the country and for the people that I love so well."

1. What is the waste wilderness that Bright refers to?
2. What class had failed to rule the country properly, and why?
3. What did Bright mean by "let us try the nation"?

(18) John Bright—On the Second Reform Bill:

"Now, Mr. Disraeli is a man who does what may be called the conjuring for his party. He is what, amongst a tribe of Red Indians, would be called 'the mystery man'. He invents phrases for them—and one of the phrases, the last and the newest, is this lateral extension of the franchise. Now, Mr. Disraeli is a man of brains, of genius, of great capacity for action, of a wonderful tenacity of purpose, and of a rare courage. He would have been a statesman, if his powers had been directed by any noble principle or idea. But, unhappily, he prefers a temporary and worthless distinction as the head of a decaying party, fighting for impossible ends, to the priceless memories of services rendered to his country and to freedom, on which only, in our age, an enduring fame can be built up."

"To easy-going, fashionable gentlemen it seemed positively dreadful that a man should have promotion in the Army just because he merited it, or that a nobleman, who had obtained personal property in the form of a commission in the army, should not be able to sell it just as he would a horse which some-one wanted more than its present owner."

1. Why did Bright call Disraeli "the mystery man"?
2. Explain what was meant by the lateral extension of the franchise.
3. How, according to Bright, did Disraeli fall

short of being a statesman? 4. Discuss Bright's reference to commissions in the army. 5. In what form do the evil influences he complained of appear now?

(19) Robert Lowe (Viscount Sherbrooke)—On the Second Reform Bill:

“We are about to exchange certain good for more than doubtful change; we are about to barter maxims and traditions that never failed for theories and doctrines that never succeeded. Democracy we may have at any time. Night and day the gate is open that leads to that bare and level plain, where every ant's hill is a mountain and every thistle a forest tree.”

1. What was Lowe's objection to the Second Reform Bill. 2. Where did he claim that democracy would lead to? 3. Was his forecast correct?

CHAPTER XVIII

DISRAELI—GLADSTONE—PARLIAMENT ACT OF 1911

The Russell Ministry followed, and domestic legislation received attention. The people began to insist that it was the function of the state to educate them, to provide for the public health, and to regulate their relations with their employers. This progress towards democracy was aided by the triumph of the North in the American Civil War. Surely English workmen could not be denied the vote, which was to be given to the negroes in the United States! Then there had been great changes since 1832. In 1865, out of 5,300,000 adult males 900,000 had votes, or only one in six, and the working man was practically excluded. A borough with 4,000 inhabitants returned as many members as Liverpool with 443,000 inhabitants. The working classes represented five-twelfths of the aggregate income of the country, but had only one-seventh of the electoral power. Nevertheless the Bill of 1866 was defeated, owing to its restricted limits as a reform measure and to a revolt of a section of the Liberal party, which came to be known as "Adullamites", from John Bright's comparison of them to Saul's discontented subjects who took refuge with David in the Cave of Adullam.

Russell resigned and retired from public life, and Lord Derby became Prime Minister for the third time. Bright and Gladstone started a campaign of stirring speeches, while processions and demonstrations showed that the people were as thoroughly aroused as they had been at the time of the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Disraeli, Leader in the House of Commons, took advantage of the situation and did what he had condemned Peel for doing twenty years before. He at first sought to secure the support of both Liberals and Conservatives for a series of resolutions on the subject, the main purport of which was to take away with one hand what was given with the other, by checking the concessions made to the labouring classes with a complicated system of "fancy franchises" and dual voting. Both factions of the Liberal party opposed these resolutions, and it was only after three of his Cabinet had resigned that he introduced the scheme which formed the basis of the Bill that was subsequently passed. It conceded so much to the Liberal leaders that it was termed "the principles of Bright at the dictation of Gladstone". John Stuart Mill roused the ire of some and the amusement of others by proposing "votes for women"—a question that has been settled in the four Western Provinces and in Ontario, and is still a burning issue in England.

The Second Reform Bill was carried in 1867. The franchise was extended, readjustments were made in the distribution of seats, and new boroughs were made. The Conservatives were much alarmed at this advance in democracy. Lord Cranborne

(afterwards Lord Salisbury) called the Bill a "political betrayal which has no parallel in our annals". A contributor to the *Times* said, "It is not a party they have destroyed, it is a creed they have annihilated", while others claimed that Derby and Disraeli "had done it by shamelessly violating their pledges and sacrificing the principles of the party that had put them in office". Derby acknowledged that it was a "leap in the dark", while Carlyle described it as "shooting Niagara". The results did not justify their fears. The Conservative party grew stronger than it had been since 1832, and while a new era of progressive legislation followed, the newly enfranchised class proved far from revolutionary in its demands.

Derby resigned in 1868 and was followed by Disraeli, who had started his political career as a Radical leader of the Young England Party. He showed little capacity as a routine administrator, but he was a great party leader—courageous, resourceful, audacious, and imaginative. His enthusiasm for the monarchical form of government and his courtesy and considerateness won the favour of the queen to a higher degree than any other statesman of her reign. His political philosophy was to combine the nobility and workingmen against the great middle class. Though he started life as a democratic enthusiast, he ended as an Imperialist of the most pronounced type, and his foreign policy was marked by vigour and power. He was in office less than a year when he gave way to the Liberals under Gladstone. He came back with a strong majority in 1874, owing

to the support given him by the commercial classes, who left the Liberal party because it was attracting the support of the trade unions and artisans. The chief measures of the period were the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and the Royal Titles Bill by which the queen was declared Empress of India. Agricultural depression (the harvest of 1879 was the worst of the century), decline in trade, strikes, the Afghan and Zulu wars, unsatisfactory budgets and, more than these, Gladstone's fervour playing upon popular discontent in his Midlothian campaign speeches and Joseph Chamberlain's superior political organization led to the defeat of Disraeli in 1880. He probably reached the zenith of his popularity at the time of his return from the Congress of Berlin, where he claimed he had obtained "peace with honour". Britain, in the present war, is reaping some of the benefits of that attempt to hold Russia in check by sustaining the integrity of Turkey in Europe. Disraeli died in 1881.

Gladstone was four years younger than Disraeli. He was the son of a rich Liverpool merchant of Scottish birth and was educated in the strongholds of aristocratic Conservatism. He began his political life as a Tory, seceded with the Peelites, and ended his career as a democratic Liberal, almost a Radical. He was as superior to Disraeli in domestic legislation as he was inferior to him in his foreign policy, which was vacillating and dilatory. He always raised his voice on behalf of oppressed nationalities, but he was opposed to the aggressiveness of extreme Imperialists and to expensive fleets and armies. His

first Ministry, 1868—1874, carried a number of notable measures:

1. Irish Church disestablishment;
2. Irish Land Act and Elementary Education Act;
3. The Army Regulation Act;
4. The Ballot Act;
5. The Supreme Court of Judicature Act.

The Education Act alienated both nonconformists and high churchmen. Reductions in the dockyards had aroused the workmen, the abolition of purchase had embittered the upper classes. Disraeli had sought every opportunity to popularize the Imperial idea, and when Gladstone made a new enemy by proposing a tax on spirits, the Ministry went down to defeat in 1874. Gladstone came back in 1880-1885. This Cabinet was the last in which John Bright sat and the first in which Joseph Chamberlain held office. The Bradlaugh case led to affirmation being substituted for oath in the Commons and Law Courts—the Burial Act allowed interments in churchyards without religious services—the Employers' Liability Act was passed to give compensation for injury to workmen.

Butt and Parnell advocated "Home Rule" and the Land Bill of 1881 was passed, which provided for the "three F's"—fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale. It pleased neither landlords nor tenants. The Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 reduced the cost of general elections by about two-thirds. The Franchise Bill of 1884 practically went the length of manhood suffrage. The Soudan War, the death of Gordon, and the Irish Question, which had antagon-

ized both Conservatives and Home Rulers, led Gladstone to resign in 1885.

Lord Salisbury, 1885-1886, followed and passed the Ashbourne Act, by which the government advanced £5,000,000 at four per cent. to Irish tenants to buy holdings with, the amount to be repaid in forty-nine years, thus creating a body of landowners as a cure for Irish discontent. This was in accordance with the scheme advocated by Bright in 1870. The policy was extended by the Land Purchase Acts of 1887, 1891, 1896, and 1903. This form of assistance, with increased powers of self-government in local affairs, was the substitute offered by the Conservative party in place of the Nationalist demand for Home Rule. On the other hand, the Liberals identified themselves with the cause of the Home Rulers in 1886.

In 1886 Salisbury resigned, and Gladstone formed his third Ministry. In doing so he informed each man whom he asked to take office that it would be the aim of the Government to determine whether or not Ireland should be given Home Rule. In consequence of this, five of his old Ministers, including Bright and Hartington, refused to come in. Chamberlain took office on conditions, but soon resigned, and he and the Marquis of Hartington led the secessionist Liberals, known as "Liberal Unionists". The Home Rule Bill was defeated in 1886, ninety-three Liberals voting against it.

When Salisbury formed his second Ministry, 1886-1892, he offered Hartington the leadership of the combined Conservatives and Liberal Unionists in

the Commons, but the offer was declined. The erratic Lord Randolph Churchill assumed the position, but soon resigned, not agreeing with the spirited foreign policy of his chief. In the election of 1892 Gladstone, while keeping Home Rule as his main issue, sought to combine Liberal and Radical members of his party, by a series of reforms known as the Newcastle Programme. Its chief provisions were:

- (1) The disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales and of the Church of Scotland;
- (2) Local veto on the sales of liquor;
- (3) The abolition of the plural vote;
- (4) The extension of the Employers' Liability Act and restriction of hours of labour.

This programme alienated a greater number than it attracted and Gladstone was beaten in England, but got enough votes in Wales and Scotland to give him, with the aid of 81 Irish Nationalists, a majority of forty for Home Rule. Gladstone's fourth Ministry, 1892-1894, was noted for his introduction of a Second Home Rule Bill in 1893. It was carried in the Commons, but defeated in the Lords, and it was nearly twenty years before another measure of Home Rule succeeded in passing the Commons. For one reason John Morley, Irish Secretary, ruled with wisdom and sympathy. Then the Conservatives who were in power from 1895 to 1905 continued to try to "kill Home Rule with kindness" by their new Land Purchase Acts and Local Government Act. Gladstone resigned in 1894 and died in 1898. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Rosebery, 1894-1895, a man of personal charm and

of varied interests and attainments. He lacked experience, energy, and strength of conviction, and soon gave way to Salisbury's third Ministry. Salisbury, 1895-1902, was joined by his nephew, Arthur Balfour, and by the Liberal Unionists, Hartington and Joseph Chamberlain. The Jamieson Raid, the Diamond Jubilee, and the Boer War were events of this period. The queen died in 1901. At the time of her death many problems were clamouring for settlement by the government:

- (1) Preferential tariff in the colonies;
- (2) Imperial federation;
- (3) The Irish question;
- (4) Relation between the House of Commons and the House of Lords;
- (5) Relation between Capital and Labour;
- (6) Provision for the poor in old age, sickness, and non-employment.

Salisbury retired in 1902, and Balfour took his place. Joseph Chamberlain raised the issue of tariff reform in 1903. He advocated preferential tariffs and reciprocity in colonial trade, and retaliation where necessary in the case of foreign countries. Hartington retired from the Cabinet because Balfour was ready to go too far for him, and he soon after became President of the Unionist Free Trade Club. Chamberlain also retired from the Cabinet, because Balfour did not go far enough for him. Balfour gave little attention to the tariff question, thinking to stave it off until the next Colonial Conference, while the Liberals worked persistently to embarrass the Ministry and widen the split in the Unionist ranks. The Nonconformists were in opposition to the Educational Bill of 1902. George

Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland, resigned because his Under Secretary had been found "flirting with Home Rule". The government was condemned for sanctioning ordinances at the request of South African Mine owners for admitting Chinese coolies into the Transvaal. It was taken to mean that the Boer War had been waged in the interests of capital. Balfour resigned in 1905. It is worthy of note that his Ministry, aided by King Edward, arranged the Triple Entente, under which England, France, and Russia are now fighting against Germany and Austria.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman formed a Cabinet in 1905, went to the country in 1906, and was returned by the largest majority since that after the Reform Bill of 1832. The main features of the Liberal programme were:

- (1) The exclusion of Chinese labour from the Transvaal;
- (2) The amendment of the Education Act;
- (3) The reduction and national control of liquor licenses;
- (4) Sweeping measures for social and industrial betterment;
- (5) Self-government in the Transvaal.

The Liberal party tried to carry out its policy but many of its Acts were thrown out by the House of Lords, and it became apparent that some change in the House was necessary. Bannerman's health broke down and he resigned in 1908, dying soon after. He was succeeded by Herbert Asquith, with David Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lloyd George's revolutionary budget forced the

issue with the House of Lords. Owing to increased naval estimates and the cost of new social and industrial legislation, he had to face a deficit of sixteen and a half million pounds. The Conservatives insisted that tariffs were the only means of increasing the revenue, but Lloyd George proceeded to base his budget on four principles that took no account of tariffs. They were:

- (1) Appropriation of about £3,000,000 from the amount annually set aside for debt reduction;
- (2) Increased duties on the luxuries of the masses, notably liquor and tobacco;
- (3) Taxation of the excesses of wealth;
 - (a) Increase of income tax;
 - (b) Increase of succession duties;
 - (c) Increase of rate on unearned increments;
- (4) Heavy rates on monopolies, such as, (a) liquor licenses, and (b) unearned increments of land.

In general, the idea was to "shift the burden of taxation from the producers to the possessors of wealth".

The Lords rejected the Bill and Asquith went to the Country in 1910 on the following issues: (1) The budget; (2) the abolition of the veto power of the House of Lords; and (3) the introduction of a scheme for Home Rule. The result was a return of the Liberals with a reduced majority. The House of Commons met and passed three resolutions: (1) Henceforth the House of Lords should have no right to veto a money Bill; if in one month they refused their assent it should nevertheless go to the king for his signature—the power of deciding whether any particular measure was a money Bill being left

to the Speaker; (2) any measure not a money Bill passing the Commons in three successive sessions might, in spite of the veto of the House of Lords, be submitted to the king for his approval, provided that in every instance it had been submitted to the Lords one month before the closing of the session, and provided that two years had elapsed since its first introduction; and (3) the maximum life of Parliament should henceforth be five years instead of seven.

A conference of the opposition party leaders was held, but no agreement could be arrived at, so Parliament was dissolved and a general election was held for the second time within a year, with the result that the Liberal coalition made a net gain of two seats. Mr. Asquith again introduced his Parliament Bill and it passed the Lords with amendments, which the Prime Minister would not accept. He intimated that the king would create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill, if necessary. This threat, as usual, had the desired effect, and the Bill was passed without amendments in August, 1911. The Parliament Bill is very important as marking a distinct change in the constitution in accordance with the express will of the people at a general election. The session of 1911 voted salaries of £400 per year to the members of the House of Commons, being the first salaries granted since the time of Elizabeth.

King Edward did not live to see the end of the struggle. He died on May 6th, 1910, and was succeeded by his only surviving son as George the

Fifth. The Colonial Conference met in 1907 and again in 1911. The question of Imperial tariffs was discussed, but nothing definite arrived at. An Imperial Parliament was proposed by the Premier of New Zealand, but as no other Dominion was prepared to go so far the matter was dropped. It was announced, however, that henceforth the Dominions would be consulted as far as possible in international treaties which affected their interests. The Liberals of Canada, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were defeated on the question of Reciprocity with the United States in September, 1911. Sir Robert Borden became Premier and in 1912 introduced his Naval Bill, providing for the supply of three super-dreadnoughts to the Mother Country at a cost of £7,000,000. The Bill was rejected by the Senate, which voted that "this House is not justified in giving its assent to this Bill until it is submitted to the judgment of the country". There has not been an election since, but the very unanimous and hearty support given to the Motherland in the present war goes to establish that the differences of opinion were on procedure and methods only.

There were serious strikes in Great Britain in 1908 and 1910, but they reached a veritable epidemic in 1911, when dockers, railroad men, and coal miners all went out. The strikers did not accomplish much for their cause, and their failure struck a hard blow at syndicalism.

The National Insurance Bill was passed in 1911. The Home Rule Bill passed the Commons in 1914, and, under the provisions of the Parliament Act of

1911, will no doubt become law on the expiration of the time prescribed. The war with Germany over the violation of the Belgian Treaty has developed into a world struggle between Democracy and Militarism, with the old lion and all the whelps lined up on the side of Freedom, backed by the last dollar and the last drop of blood of every lover of Liberty in the Empire, regardless of colour, race, politics, or religion. After the war history will begin anew.

1. State the demands of the people at the time of the Russell Ministry. 2. What event encouraged the people in their demands? 3. Enumerate some of the great changes in England since the time of the First Reform Bill. 4. Why was the Reform Bill of 1866 defeated? 5. Explain the allusion to Adullamites. 6. Explain why Disraeli championed the Reform Bill of 1867. 7. Compare the action of Disraeli at this time with that of Peel in 1846. 8. How was Disraeli's act viewed by his party? 9. Wherein did the greatness of Disraeli consist? 10. Give a reason why he was willing to extend the franchise. 11. What weakened the Liberals in the election of 1874? 12. What causes led to the defeat of Disraeli in 1880? 13. Compare Disraeli and Gladstone as statesmen. 14. Enumerate some of the measures carried by Gladstone's first Ministry. 15. Explain the Land Bill of 1881. 16. What Bill was the final step towards Representative Government? 17. What was the Ashbourne Act? 18. Explain fully the substitute offered by the Conservative party in place of Home Rule. 19. What cost Gladstone many followers when he formed his third Ministry? 20. Give the chief provisions of the Newcastle programme. 21. What was the effect of this programme on the electors? 22. When was Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill introduced? 23. Why was it that nearly twenty years elapsed before Home Rule was again taken up? 24. Mention some of the problems of the government at the time of the death of Queen Victoria. 25. What was the effect on the government of the tariff reform question raised by Joseph Chamberlain in 1903? 26. To whom should credit be given for the alliance of England.

France, and Russia? 27. Name the chief features of the Liberal programme of 1907. 28. What prevented the programme from being carried out? 29. Who forced the issue with the House of Lords, and in what way? 30. Enumerate the four principles upon which Lloyd George based his budget. 31. What was the general principle involved? 32. On what issue did Asquith go to the country in the first election of 1910? 33. Explain the Parliament Bill of 1911. 34. State how the Parliament Bill made a change in the English constitution. 35. Show that the change was made in a constitutional manner. 36. Explain briefly what is meant by "preferential tariff" and "reciprocity in colonial trade". 37. Upon what grounds did the Senate reject Sir Robert Borden's Naval Bill? 38. Compare the Senate in this case with the House of Lords in its rejection of Home Rule. 39. When did the Home Rule Bill pass the Commons? 40. Explain briefly why Britain is engaged in the present war. 41. What would likely be the effect if the Allies should win? 42. What would likely be the effect on Canada if the Central Powers should win?

FOR DISCUSSION

(1) William Ewart Gladstone—Midlothian Campaign, 1880:

"The great duty of a Government, especially in foreign affairs, is to soothe and tranquillize the minds of a people, not to set up false phantoms of glory which are to delude them into calamity, not to flatter their infirmities by leading them to believe that they are better than the rest of the world, and so encourage the spirit of domination; but to proceed upon a principle that recognizes the sisterhood and equality of nations, the absolute quality of public right among them."

"There is no duty so sacred, incumbent upon any government in its foreign policy, as that careful and strict regard to public law."

He then proceeded to lay down six general principles by which our foreign policy should be guided.

“The first thing is to foster the strength of the Empire by just legislation and economy at home, thereby producing two of the great elements of national power—namely, wealth, which is a physical element, and union and contentment, which are moral elements—and to reserve the strength of the Empire, to reserve the expenditure of that strength for great and worthy occasions abroad. . . . My second principle . . . is this—that its aim ought to be to preserve to the nations of the world . . . the blessings of peace. My third principle is this—when you do a good thing, you may do it in so bad a way that you may entirely spoil the beneficial effect; and if we were to make ourselves the apostles of peace in the sense of conveying to the minds of other nations that we thought ourselves more entitled to an opinion on the subject than they are, or to deny their rights—well, very likely we should destroy the whole value of our doctrines. In my opinion the third sound principle is this—to strive to cultivate and maintain, ay, to the very uttermost, what is called the Concert of Europe; to keep the powers of Europe in union together. And why? Because by keeping all in union together you neutralize and fetter and bind up the selfish aims of each. . . . My fourth principle is that you should avoid needless and entangling engagements. You may boast about them, you may brag about them. You may say you are procuring consideration for the country. You may say that an Englishman can

now hold up his head among the nations. . . . But what does all this come to, gentlemen? It comes to this, that you are increasing your engagements without increasing your strength . . . you really reduce the Empire and do not increase it. . . . My fifth principle is, to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations. You may sympathize with one nation more than another. . . . But in point of right all are equal, and you have no right to set up a system under which one of them is to be placed under moral suspicion or espionage, or to be made the constant subject of invective. . . . The sixth principle is that . . . subject to all the limitations that I have described, the foreign policy of England should always be inspired by the love of freedom. There should be a sympathy with freedom, a desire to give it scope, founded not upon visionary ideas, but upon the long experience of many generations within the shores of this happy isle, that in freedom you lay the firmest foundations both of loyalty and order; the firmest foundations for the development of individual character, and the best provision for the happiness of the nation at large. . . . It is that sympathy, not a sympathy with disorder, but, on the contrary, founded upon the deepest and most profound love of order . . . which ought to be the very atmosphere in which a Foreign Secretary of England ought to live and to move."

1. What did Gladstone consider was the first great duty of a government in dealing with foreign affairs? 2. What were the six general principles of foreign policy advocated by Gladstone? 3. How did he purpose fostering the strength of the Empire, and what two elements of

power would thereby be produced? 4. What was Gladstone's view of needless and entangling engagements? 5. By what should the foreign policy of England always be inspired, and why?

(2) "Peel had one crowning merit which finds its place in any view of him as a Parliamentary leader. He had disciples, he made men, he formed a school. Of no other Minister since Pitt can this be said, and of Pitt only in a lesser degree. What men he shaped! What a creed of honest work he left with them! What a tradition of public duty! Gladstone, Hardinge, Dalhousie, Canning, and Newcastle—these men stood together after his death like the last square of a broken army, firm in their faith, in their leader, in their cause. To be a Peelite was a distinction in itself. It denoted statesmanship, industry, conscience. For then and now and for all time, above and beyond that government and the perished passions of the time, there looms the great figure of the great Minister, with feet perhaps of clay as well as of iron, but with a heart at least of silver and a head of fine gold."—*Lord Rosebery*.

1. What, according to Rosebery, was Peel's crowning merit? 2. Who possessed the same qualities in a lesser degree? 3. Name the men who stood together after his death. 4. Explain how to be a Peelite denoted statesmanship, industry, and conscience.

(3) Joseph Chamberlain—at Ipswich, 1885:

"It is a very curious thing that Protection has a tendency to enlarge its demand. It is like the quack medicine, whose failure is always attributed to the insufficiency of the dose. If you study history at all you will find the condition of the farmer was never so hopeless, the state of the labourer was never so

abject, as when corn was kept to a high value by a prohibitive or protective duty. The goods of the people were taxed to raise the rents of the landlords, and none of the plunder found its way into the farmers' pockets."

1. In what respect is Protection like a quack medicine?
2. When was the condition of the farmer in England most hopeless?

(4) Joseph Chamberlain—at Birmingham, 1885:

"How to promote the greater happiness of the masses of the people—how to increase their enjoyment of life—that is the problem of the future. And just as there are politicians who would occupy all the world and leave nothing for the ambition of anybody else, so we have their counterpart at home in the men who, having already annexed everything that is worth having, expect everybody else to be content with the crumbs that fall from their table."

What did Chamberlain consider to be the problem of the future?

(5) Joseph Chamberlain—at Birmingham, 1889:

"We owe these, and not only we, but the kindred nations, the number of nations which own this as their mother country, to the efforts and to the doctrines preached by those Puritan ancestors who loved freedom here, who fought for freedom and suffered for it, and who carried their love for it to the far countries across the water, where they laid the foundations of new empires of a great republic."

To whom does Chamberlain say we owe our freedom?

(6) Joseph Chamberlain—at Birmingham, 1896:

"We, in our colonial policy, as far as we can acquire new territory and develop it, develop it as

trustees of civilization for the commerce of the world. We offer, in all these markets over which our flag floats, the same opportunities, the same open field, to foreigners that we offer to our own subjects and upon the same terms. In that policy we stand alone, because all other nations, as fast as they acquire new territory, seek at once to secure the monopoly for their own products by preferential and artificial methods."

1. In what way is Britain a trustee of civilization for the commerce of the world? 2. Distinguish between the colonial policy of Britain and that of other nations.

OUTLINE FOR AN ADDRESS

THE CITIZENS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CORRUPT ELECTIONS

1. Many citizens do not take sufficient interest in public affairs to investigate them and form an independent opinion as to how they should vote. They thus leave themselves open to the influence of lower considerations. They are too busy earning a living or making money to inform themselves on political matters, and even if they desired to do so, adequate avenues for reliable information are not open to them.
2. Many a citizen has not been taught that by doing his share of the public business he is advancing his own interests to a greater extent, and making himself more of a man than he is by devoting all his time and energy to his private affairs. He has never thought it out. He has never been aroused to a sense of his responsibility. Many a man who would refuse

to sell his barley and stunt his hogs will thoughtlessly barter his vote and ruin his country. That same man, when war breaks out, will probably be among the first to risk his life in defence of the flag. When his duty is brought home to him, he is prepared to die for the same country he had formerly betrayed. Military ardour is not the highest form of patriotism.

3. A citizen sometimes declines to do what should be his duty at election time unless he is paid for it. He refuses, or neglects, to go and record his vote, unless he is taken to the poll by a party conveyance, and very often the one who is best paid for doing what he should do willingly is the first man to hold up his Member for a job.
4. The average citizen who would scorn to accept a cash bribe for his vote will allow himself to be influenced by other considerations just as bad, such as a donation for his church, a public building for his town, a road or a bridge for his municipality, an office for himself, or a position for a relative.
5. It is not unusual for a citizen to charge the government more than he would a private individual for the same work. He thinks it is no harm to beat the customs or cheat the government.
6. Many citizens are controlled by feeling or sentiment, rather than by judgment, and give their votes as an acknowledgment of a personal favour, without regard to any principle involved, or the ability of the candidates.

7. The average citizen allows the machine to select and nominate the candidate, who is very often not the choice of the community. Having no personal interest in the election, he looks to the machine to pay him for any work that he may do.
8. The average citizen endorses, or tacitly accepts, a different standard of morality in the conduct of public affairs than that which is applied to private affairs.
9. It is the demand for monetary considerations by the citizen that creates the supply, and the big interests, intent on wholesale robbery of the people, supply campaign funds, knowing that if they can get control of the government they can recoup themselves ten-thousandfold.
10. The remedy—the training of the citizens.

HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS TO BE EXPLAINED

1. "The Right Honourable gentleman (Peel) caught the Whigs bathing, and walked away with their clothes."
2. "Chartism was a knife-and-fork question."
3. "Burke protected everything old, not because it was good, but because it existed."
4. "The Reform Bill transferred power to the Middle Classes, but, having forced the doors for themselves, they had no desire to admit the crowd of workingmen still outside."
5. Disraeli's saying of John Stuart Mill that he was "a political finishing governess".

6. "The English do not mention the Rights of Man. They insist upon the Bill of Rights, or the Magna Carta."

7. Burke's saying, "When Chatham had accomplished his system of administration he was no longer a Minister".

8. "England was the pioneer of the application of mechanism to industry."

9. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

10. Disraeli's saying: "Palmerston was a Tory chief of a Radical Cabinet."

11. Disraeli passed the second Reform Bill to "dish the Liberals, and set the nobility and working classes against the middle classes".

12. Pitt's last speech: "England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, I trust, save Europe by her example."

13. "Disraeli did little and re-created the Conservative party. Gladstone accomplished much and broke up the Liberal party."

14. Gladstone's appeal for the Reform Bill of 1866: "If a class has failed to rule, let us try the nation."

15. What Disraeli meant by the following in connection with the Repeal of the Corn Laws: "Lord John Russell handed back with courtesy the poisoned chalice to Sir Robert Peel."

16. The reference to the younger Pitt's government: "A mince-pie administration, which would end with the holidays."

17. Pitt's saying after Austerlitz: "Roll up that map (Europe). It will not be wanted these ten years."

18. "Chatham desired power, and he desired it, we really believe, from high and generous motives. He was in the strict sense of the word a patriot. He loved England as an Athenian loved the City of the Violet Crown, as a Roman loved the City of the Seven Hills."

19. "As Walpole was essentially the Minister of Peace, so the haughty Chatham was essentially the Minister of War."

20. "Cromwell and Chatham, these are the two English statesmen, the memory of whose sympathy America still cherishes."

21. "In Fox the heart warmed the genius. In Pitt the genius withered the heart."

22. "Of the revolution in all countries and times, John Hampden is the perfect symbol."

23. "Would you learn how 'The high desire that others may be blessed, savours of heaven'? read of John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, and Father Damien."

24. "In several respects Macaulay is the natural antithesis of Carlyle. Macaulay was an optimist, Carlyle was a pessimist; Macaulay was the panegyric of his own time, Carlyle was its merciless critic; Macaulay believed in the Whig creed, and had great faith in reform bills and improvements in Parliamentary machinery, Carlyle accepted no formulæ whatsoever, and set small store by any reforms that were merely Parliamentary; Macaulay

was orthodox in his literary tastes and methods, Carlyle was revolutionary and scornful of rule."

25. Drake's saying: "There is plenty of time to finish the game and beat the Spaniards, too."

26. The saying of Louis XIV: "I am the State."

27. "Mr. Pitt's memory needs no statues. Six hundred millions of irremediable debts are the eternal record of his fame."

28. "Jamaica was England's first colonial acquisition in the 17th century, Gibraltar the first in the 18th century, and Aden the first in the reign of Queen Victoria."

29. "The king's prerogative is of less practical importance than his personality."

30. "The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is the Supreme Court of Appeal for all the British Empire beyond the sea. Further than this, the members of that committee sit in the House of Lords as the Supreme Court of Appeal for the British Isles."

31. "Arthur James Balfour does not regard the democracy with animosity, but as uninstructed and sometimes as unruly children, whom it is his task to keep out of mischief."

32. "'Go and bring the sledge-hammer', said C. B. to one of his colleagues on the Treasury Bench in the midst of an attack by Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Asquith duly appeared."

33. "Sir Edward Grey's view of foreign affairs is that it is a close bureaucratic preserve into which he will allow no impertinent trespassers. It is outside the field of democracy. There is no right-of-

way through his woods, and he is the keeper with the gun."

34. "David Lloyd George has won the confidence of the commercial class without losing the confidence of the working class."

35. "The announcement that John Morley was the new Irish Secretary was the first clear indication of the most momentous departure in policy made in our time. It meant that Home Rule was the official policy of the Liberal party."

36. John Morley's address on Home Rule: "Gentlemen, do to Ireland as you would be done by. If she is poor, remember it is you who have denied to her the fruits of her labour. If she is ignorant, remember it is your laws that have closed to her the book of knowledge. If she is excessive, as some of you may think, in her devotion to a Church which is not the Church of most of you, remember that Church was her only friend and comforter in the dark hour. Gentlemen, the dark hour is past. She has found other friends, other comforters. We will never desert her."

37. Lord Rosebery's tutor at Eton said of him: "Rosebery has the finest combination of qualities I have ever seen. He will be an orator, and, if not a poet, such a man as poets delight in. But he is one of those who like the palm without the dust."

38. "C. B. was anchored to a simple faith in democracy. Mr. Asquith is the authentic vehicle of the collective purpose. Mr. Harcourt is governed by tradition. Even Mr. Lloyd George, with all his personal energy and initiative, is too sensitive to

the popular judgment to run amuck. But Winston Churchill knows no sanction except his own will, and when he is seized with an idea he pursues it with an intensity that seems unconscious of opposition."

39. "When Lord Salisbury was asked if he did not want Lord Randolph Churchill back, he replied: 'When you have got rid of a boil on the neck you do not want it back again.'"

40. "Winston Churchill has the passionate democracy more than any other man I know. But don't forget that the aristocrat is still there—latent and submerged, but there nevertheless."

41. Lord Rosebery summed up the Boer War in the phrase, "Muddling through". For this phrase Haldane has substituted "efficiency".

42. "Lewis Harcourt is for sober, considered progress upon familiar lines; yielding here a little and there a little to the fierce clamour of the new time, with its new, strange voices; but keeping ever to the great trunk road, of which Walpole was the engineer in the eighteenth century and Gladstone in the nineteenth."

43. "The first great politician to endeavour to give effect to the doctrine of leaving things alone—the doctrine of *laissez faire*—the doctrine of Free Trade—was William Pitt the younger."

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "Behind the heavy upholstery of hereditary monarchy the mysterious dynasty of genius is scarcely glimpsed."

2. "The smoky torch upon the opaque facade of royal accession hides the starry light streaming down upon the centuries from the creators of civilization."
3. "Mill advocated the franchise for women, representation for minorities in Parliament, and the appropriation by government of unearned increment."
4. Carlyle's saying: "Mock me not with the name of free, when you have but knit up my chains into ornamental festoons."
5. Cavour's saying: "The happiness or misery of a people is all only a question of good or bad legislation."
6. "We send a man to prison for stealing a trivial amount. What shall we do with him whom on our honour, in our conscience, we believe to be corrupting the hearts of men, and perhaps leading them to eternal perdition?"
7. "The Lord's Day Act requires a proper observance of the Sabbath. What should be the attitude of the law towards those who claim as a religious principle the right to observe another day of the week as Sabbath?"
8. "Every man stamps his value on himself—a man cannot live a broad life if he runs only in one groove."
9. "A lazy man is of no more use than a dead man, and he takes up more room."
10. "For years Walter Scott studied to make himself familiar with the era of chivalry, plodded over in imagination the weary march of the

Crusaders, studied the characteristics of the Jewish character, searched carefully into the records of the times in which the scenes of his story were laid, and examined diligently into the strange process whereby the Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon were wrought into a common tongue. He then wrote 'Ivanhoe', and the reader pronounces the author a genius. In this case, as in most others, what is genius but industry?"

11. "Every evening is a crisis in the career of a young man."
12. "If you think there is not an honest man living, you had better, for appearance sake, not say so until you are dead yourself."
13. "God gives every bird its food, but He does not throw it into the nest."
14. "The truest test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops, but the kind of man the country turns out."
15. "The darkest hour in the life of any young man is when he sits down to study how to get money without honestly earning it."
16. "The noblest motive is the public good."
17. "A great nation is made only by worthy citizens."
18. "The strength and prowess of any nation lies in its citizens, and their character depends largely upon the character of their homes."
19. "Every citizen should be willing to do his full part in the service of the community in which he lives."

20. "Let the man who, without good excuse, fails to vote, be deprived of the right to vote."
21. "It seems to me a common opinion that there is no particular harm in cheating the government, that the government will pay more for any service than can be obtained from an individual or from a private corporation, and that men will charge prices and use deception and fraud when they work for the country, which, if practised upon private parties, would send them to prison and brand them with lifelong disgrace."
22. "No man should be allowed to put his hand upon the management of our public affairs, until he can read and understand our laws in the language in which they are written."
23. "We, therefore, desire to place by the side of our great statesmen, the man who, in the midst of a bitter struggle for bread, can barely manage, by the closest possible economy, to keep his family from want and shame, but who still sacrifices an hour's wages that he may go to the polls and vote the expression of his will, and thus support the measures which he honestly believes to be for the public good; and we desire to say that, on the ground of a true patriotism, we consider that the one is fully the equal of the other, and that there is a sense in which the man of smaller opportunities is the greater hero of the two."
24. "If the disaster that threatens the United States is to be escaped it can only be by a new war of emancipation that will strike the fetters

of private monopoly off the limbs of democracy. It is the economic liberation of a people that is the real problem of American politics.”

25. “What good has the Empire been to Englishmen? Why did England want an Empire? Find the answer in the annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, before there was any British Empire at all—because the English sucked in the instinct of maritime enterprise with their mothers’ milk; because they identified—and rightly—such enterprise with freedom and national life; because they were human, and found that it paid; because they were growing, and meant to grow; because they were English, and loved to have it so.”
26. “It has been emphasized that past ages cannot be fairly judged by the standard and in the light of our own. Bearing this in mind, it is none the less instructive to note the part which the Commonwealth and Cromwell played in regard to the coming Empire. It was a time—the only time in English history—when democracy developed into dominant republicanism; the only time when Nonconformity triumphed completely; more than half the national revenue was spent upon the navy; a national policy of commercial exclusion in sea-going traffic was initiated and stoutly upheld, and, for the first time, a colony was added to the Empire, which had been taken from another European nation by force of arms.”

27. "If one-half of the people is bent upon proving how wicked a man is, and the other half in determined to show how good he is, neither half will think very much about the nation."
28. "The indifferent citizen goes through life fudging and evading, indulging and slacking, never really hungry nor frightened, nor passionately stirred, his highest moment a mere sentimental gasp, and his first real contact with primary and elementary necessities, the sweat of his death-bed."
29. "The object of democracy is not to imitate the rhythm of the stars, but to harness political power to the nation's need. If corporations and governments have indeed gone on a joy-ride, the business of reform is not to set up fences into which they can bump, but to take the wheel and steer."
30. "We do not have elections any more; we have rejections. What really happens at a general election is that the party organization—obscure and secretive, conclaves with entirely mysterious funds—select a number of men to be our rulers, and all that we—we so-called self-governing people—are permitted to do is, in a muddled, angry way, to strike off the names of half of these selected gentlemen."
31. "Constitutions do not make people; people make constitutions; so the task of reform consists not in presenting a nation with progressive laws, but in getting the people to want them."

32. "A community that clatters along, with its rusty habits of thought unquestioned, making no distinction between instruments and idols, with a dull consumption of machine-made, romantic fiction, no criticism, an empty pulpit, and an unreliable press, will find itself faithfully mirrored in public affairs."
33. "Those communities of Canada where there are voting booths, but no schools, cannot possibly be described as democracies; nor can the person who reads one corrupt newspaper and then goes out to vote, make any claim to having registered his will. He may have a will, but he has not used it."

CHAPTER XIX

DEMOCRACY IN CANADA

When Quebec fell, and the Treaty of Paris closed the mighty struggle between Great Britain and France for supremacy in America, the French inhabitants of the official and military class returned to France. They left in the conquered territory a population of from sixty to seventy thousand, mostly peasants, steeped in the ideas and habits of a feudal monarchy and accustomed to the control of authority hostile to freedom of thought.

A Proclamation issued by George III provided for two Provinces—Nova Scotia and Quebec—leaving the western regions under the control of the British government.

Nova Scotia, including New Brunswick and part of Maine, had been a British colony since 1713 under the military rule of a Governor and Council, whose authority was defined in the Governor's Commission. The Commission of 1749 authorized the calling of a Legislative Assembly, but there was much delay and unwillingness on the part of the Governor and his Council to act upon this direction, so that the first Parliament of Nova Scotia and in Canada was not called until 1758.

By the Proclamation of 1763 Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island were annexed to Nova Scotia. Six years later Prince Edward Island was made a separate province, under a Governor of its own, and with provision for a General Assembly. Lord Durham, speaking of the Island, in his Report in 1838, said: "Nearly the whole island was alienated in one day by the Crown in very large grants, chiefly to absentees, and upon conditions of settlement which have been wholly disregarded". The allotment was made in England by ballot. The grantees were military officers and others who had claims on the government. The island was divided into sixty-seven townships of twenty thousand acres each, with small reservations for military, religious, and educational purposes. There was no co-operation on the part of the proprietors to secure immigration. Each acted on his own responsibility, and while a few showed energy in the work, the great majority did nothing. But they had great influence in England, and for over one hundred years they were able to thwart every effort of the Island Assembly to effect such a change in the land system as would further settlement and improve conditions.

In 1784 New Brunswick was made a separate province, and the Commission of its first Governor authorized the summoning of a General Assembly, which shortly thereafter met. Settlement along the St. John River was retarded by the giving of large grants of land to military officers, who made no effort to bring in settlers, as their patents required. These grants were subsequently forfeited, and the lands

given to the Loyalists, who, after the American Revolution, settled in large numbers along the river.

It will thus be seen that, so far as the Maritime Provinces are concerned, their Legislatures of to-day are the lineal descendants of those early General Assemblies.

In the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century the British government was commended because of the complete separation, as was supposed, of the legislative and executive departments. Legislative supremacy resided in the Parliament, executive supremacy in the Crown. This change was gradually brought about in Great Britain until the supremacy of Parliament over the Executive became a clearly established principle of the British Constitution. Briefly stated, it was effected by the judicious use of the Commons' control over the purse-strings to secure the consent of the Crown to the relinquishment to Parliament of the most important of those common law powers of the executive, known as "the prerogatives of the Crown". The financial necessities of the Executive gradually led to the surrender to Parliament, or at least to parliamentary control, of the entire executive government of the nation.

That the early Assemblies of the provinces were intended to be confined to purely legislative work, and that in the doing of it they were not to interfere in the executive government of the colonies, is apparent when one comes to study somewhat more closely the Governors' Commissions, which were the constitutional charters of those provinces.

There is no essential difference in the terms of these Commissions. The first Commission conveying authority to summon an Assembly was that of Governor Cornwallis of Nova Scotia: "For the better administration of justice and the management of the public affairs of our said province" the Governor was authorized to appoint "such fitting and discreet persons as you shall either find there or carry along with you, not exceeding the number of twelve, to be of our Council in our said province; as also to nominate and appoint by warrant under your hand and seal all such other officers and ministers as you shall judge proper and necessary for our service and the good of the people whom we shall settle in said province, until our further will and pleasure shall be known". Subsequent appointments to fill vacancies in the Council were to be made by the authorities in England. With the advice and consent of the Council, the Governor was empowered to establish Courts of Justice, and to appoint all necessary ministerial and judicial officers in connection therewith. The public revenue was to be disbursed by the Governor's warrant, by and with the advice of the Council, with this limitation, however, that it was to be disposed of by the Governor for the support of the government, and not otherwise. But in the early colonial days the financial necessities of the executive government were so largely met by the revenues arising from the sale of Crown Lands, from fines, tolls, and other royalties of various sorts, and for the balance by grants from the Imperial Parliament, that the Executive of a colony

was to a large degree independent of the colonial Assembly. It is hardly to be wondered at, having in view the mode of appointment and of filling vacancies in this Council, that the executive government of those days came to be designated by the familiar phrase, "The Family Compact".

Turning now to the part played in government by the Assemblies, the Commission to Governor Cornwallis commanded him to govern the colony according to his Commission, the instructions therewith or to be thereafter given, "and according to such reasonable laws and statutes as hereafter shall be made or agreed upon, with the advice and consent of our Council and the Assembly of our said province". The legislative power was in terms ample—"to make, constitute, and ordain laws for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our said province, and for the benefit of us, our heirs and successors, which said laws are not to be repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our Kingdom of Great Britain". All such laws, however, were subject to disallowance by the Imperial authorities, with no limitation as to the time within which disallowance should take place. The position of the Crown as a branch of the Assembly was recognized in a noteworthy clause—"and in order that nothing may be passed or done by our said Council or Assembly to the prejudice of us, our heirs and successors, we will ordain that you, the said Edward Cornwallis, shall have and enjoy a negative voice in the making and passing of all laws, statutes, and ordinances as aforesaid".

Still, the importance of the concession to the early provinces of the right to a local Assembly must not be underrated. If it cannot be considered a concession of the right of self-government, it must be admitted that it fell short only because of the theory which then obtained, that the two departments of government should be kept strictly distinct, and because of the inability of the colonial Legislatures to withhold supplies until grievances in the executive department were remedied.

The form of government introduced into Quebec must now be examined. The new province comprised the present provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Both the Proclamation and the Commission of Governor Murray contemplated the institution of a Legislative Assembly, but none was ever called thereunder. It was not until after the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, dividing Quebec into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and providing for a separate Legislature in each province, that such Assemblies met, that of Upper Canada at Niagara in 1791, and that of Lower Canada at Quebec a few months later. In 1840, after fifty years of struggle between the Assembly and the Executive Council, after the Rebellion, and after Lord Durham's report had been made, the Home government, by what is known as the Union Act, joined the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in a legislative union, with equal representation from each of the old provinces. This lasted until the population of what was formerly Upper Canada exceeded that of Lower Canada by 300,000. The

large increase in the English-speaking population led to an agitation for the introduction of the English civil law and for increased representation in the Assembly, or as it was commonly expressed, "Rep. by Pop". These, along with differences over the division of customs receipts, were among the causes that led to the formation of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, with local self-government in each, and to a federal union of the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia into the Dominion of Canada.

For eleven years after the Treaty of Paris the Commission to Governor Murray and his successors was the charter of government for Quebec. It provided for the use of English as the official language, for the introduction of the laws of England, including the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, for a Governor and Council, and for an elective Assembly, to be convened as soon as the circumstances of the colony would permit. This sudden overturning of the language, laws, customs, and judicial forms of the colony produced much and just discontent among the French. The Quebec Act of 1774 removed these grievances, but went so far in the other direction that its effects may still be traced in our national politics.

The reader will naturally ask why there was no elective Assembly in Quebec, such as was instituted in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. If an Assembly had been called for Quebec, the French would have been excluded from office on account of their religion, the Test Act then

being in force, and the few British would have been placed in a position to make the laws for the whole of the people. As it was, the Test Act prevented Roman Catholics from being appointed as judges or magistrates, and the fact that these offices were held by the English-speaking inhabitants did much to weaken the confidence of the people of another race, language, and religion.

Moreover, the French laws, especially with regard to property, were very different from those of England, and the methods of trial were unlike, the English favouring trial by jury while the French preferred the direct decision of a judge. Then there were in the country a number of English-speaking people, mostly from the New England colonies, where they had developed ideas of self-government, and who desired an elective Assembly.

A short review of conditions in the American colonies will add clearness to the situation in Canada at this time. For over one hundred years the British monarchs, and especially the Stuarts, had been so glad to be rid of Puritans, Quakers, Baptists, and other independent, rebellious dissenters that they gave them very liberal charters in America, and many colonies, notably Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, had charters that made them almost independent. The colonists elected their own Governors and legislators, and did not even refer their laws to England for approval. In Massachusetts they coined their own money, ceased to issue writs in the king's name, dropped the English oath of allegiance, and concluded that they were

independent, but under an English protectorate. In 1685 the charter of Massachusetts was annulled on account of her disregard of British authority, and the killing, whipping, and imprisoning of Quakers and Baptists, and she became a colony with a Governor appointed by the king. This, after her previous freedom, was very galling, and shows why she was so hot in after years for independence. Virginia, too, had been allowed a very liberal government, and in 1676 rebelled against Britain because she thought her privileges infringed. These outbreaks, and the increasing power of France on the north, compelled England to be liberal, and even lax, in governing her colonies. This was particularly so in regard to her control of the colonial commerce under the Navigation Laws and the laws of trade. Each nation of that time kept, or tried to keep, its colonial trade exclusively for itself. Still another accepted principle was that colonies should confine themselves chiefly to the production of raw materials and buy their manufactured goods from the parent nation. The Navigation Act of 1660, which was passed by Cromwell, who favoured the colonists, provided that:

(1) No goods were to be carried from the colonies except in English or colonially built ships, of which the master and three-fourths of the sailors must be English.

(2) Foreigners could not be merchants or factors in the colonies.

(3) No goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of Africa, Asia, or America could be carried

to England in any but English or colonial ships, and that such goods must be brought direct from the place where they were usually produced.

(4) Oil, whale fins, fish, etc., usually produced or caught by English subjects, must, when brought into England by foreigners, pay double alien customs.

(5) The American coasting trade was to be confined exclusively to English subjects.

The colonies never objected to these provisions, because most of them favoured the colonies as much as they favoured England, but there was a clause which did not please the colonists. It was that:

(6) No sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dye wood, should be carried from the colonies to any port on the continent of Europe, but must be carried only to England or to English colonies.

The colonists, having ships of their own, wanted to trade directly with the continent of Europe, so as to get all the profit for themselves. Accordingly, the regulation about trading with the continent of Europe was disobeyed, and while France held Canada, England had to submit. Another clause was passed shortly afterwards, as follows:

(7) No commodity of Europe was to be taken to the colonies, except from English ports, and in English-built ships.

This was to compel the colonies to buy their manufactured goods and articles of luxury from England. This regulation displeased the colonists, and they disobeyed it. Many a cargo of manufactured articles from France or Holland, and of wine, oil, and fruit

from Portugal, and many a cargo of the famous cheap Holland tea, snugly packed in molasses hogsheads, did the American vessels "run", as it was called, to their own coast, and smuggling became so universal that commerce was free.

A further Trade Act was passed in 1733, which levied duties on spirits, sugar, and molasses going into the colonies from any of the French or Spanish West Indies. The colonists found the trade very profitable, but they preferred to have it without any tax or duties. The Sugar Act followed in 1764, but the colonies made a dead letter of it, as they did of all the others that interfered with their purposes. Thus the colonies did pretty much as they pleased for over one hundred years.

The other colonies never had so much freedom as Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. They elected the Legislatures, but the Crown appointed the Governors. Each Legislature voted the Governor's salary out of the taxes. The Governor could veto any Act of the Legislature, but the Legislature could withhold the Governor's salary. The result was—the people, through the legislators, bought from the Governor, for cash, such laws as they needed, and the following form of resolution appears frequently in colonial history: "Resolved, that on the passage of such Bills as now lie before the Governor (and such other Bills as may be presented to him during the sitting), there be paid him the sum of five hundred pounds." Around every Governor appointed from England there grew up a little aristocracy of powerful families and in-

dividuals, who afterwards became the Loyalists of the Revolution, while another class, equally wealthy and educated, but democratic, attached themselves to the legislative party, and afterwards became the leaders of the Republican movement.

After the war with France, which closed in 1763, Britain undertook to remodel the colonies:

- (1) By enforcing the navigation and trade laws;
- (2) By levying a new system of taxation.

The colonists had always paid taxes, but it was on the old English voluntary system. This system they were in favour of continuing, but the English considered it uncertain, unequal, and unfair, and besides grants were often held up in order to secure the Governor's consent to legislation. The people would not hear of the change by which the Governor and the judges would have fixed salaries paid by the Home Government out of taxes levied on the colonies for the purpose, nor would they admit that Britain had the right to keep troops and build fortifications in a colony, except by the consent of that colony. They also held firmly that there could be no taxation without representation, and the passage of the Stamp Act led to the final rupture and the independence of the thirteen colonies, after ten years of argument and eight years of war.

Both parties in Canada were dissatisfied with conditions, and both appealed to the Home government for relief. The American colonies were on the brink of the War of Independence, and the British government was disposed to go a long way to satisfy the French, to prevent them from joining with their

neighbours to the south. The result was the passing of the Quebec Act in 1774.

This Act repealed all the provisions of the Proclamation of 1763, including the right to an elective Assembly, annulled all the Acts of the Governor and Council relative to the civil government and administration of justice, and revoked the Commissions of the judges, and other existing officers. It extended the boundaries of the province from Labrador to the Mississippi, and from Ohio to the watershed of Hudson Bay, with the object of preventing the territory from falling into the hands of the rebellious colonies. It established the right of the French to the observance of the Roman Catholic religion without civil disability, gave the clergy the right to collect tithes, that is, one-twenty-sixth of the grain products of the land, Protestants, of course, being exempt. It restored the French civil code, but retained the English administration of law in criminal cases. Both the civil and criminal codes, however, were allowed to be altered or modified by the ordinances of the Governor and the Legislative Council. Authority was vested in the Governor and a Legislative Council of not less than seventeen, nor more than twenty-three members, of whom one-third were to be French, appointed by the Crown for life. This authority was limited to levying local or municipal taxes, and to making arrangements for the administration of the internal affairs of the province, the British Parliament reserving the right to levy duties on articles exported or imported. Every ordinance of the Council had to be submitted to the king for

approval within six months of enactment, and if disallowed became null and void.

Fox, Burke, and Chatham opposed the passing of the Act, the latter saying: "It will involve this country in a thousand difficulties, and is subversive of that liberty which ought to be the groundwork of every constitution."

The English-speaking minority in Canada, and especially those who had been schooled in democracy, felt that their rights had been sacrificed. They were denied the promised elective Assembly and the right of trial by jury in civil cases, and were compelled to hold their property under the ill-understood laws of a foreign country.

Had the principles advocated by Pitt, Burke, and Franklin been carried out by King George, there would have been no Revolutionary War, and had there been no fear of the Canadian colonies seeking union with the United States it is doubtful if Lord North's government would have granted the sweeping concessions contained in the Quebec Act.

After the Revolution a large number of American colonists who had remained faithful to the mother country sought new homes under the old flag. Several thousands of them located near Halifax, others on the Bay of Fundy, on the St. John River, in Prince Edward Island, and in the eastern townships of Quebec, along the northern shores of Lake Ontario, and on the Niagara, Thames, and Detroit Rivers. The Loyalists on the Bay of Fundy soon asked for the privilege of choosing a member to represent them in the Assembly of Nova Scotia,

which had by this time been given an elective Assembly. When the Governor refused their request, they petitioned the British government to combine the northern settlements into a new province. The request was granted, and the Province of New Brunswick created, with an elective Assembly as in Nova Scotia.

The new settlers in the remainder of Canada, which was still known as Quebec, soon began to agitate against the French civil law and for an Assembly elected by popular vote. The French-Canadians were strongly opposed to any change in respect to the administration of the law, but were now eager for an Assembly to which they, (their religious disabilities having been removed by the Quebec Act), as well as the English-speaking inhabitants, might be elected. Discontent grew deeper, and a bitter feud arose between the rival races.

Pitt, by the Constitutional Act of 1791, divided Quebec into two provinces—Lower Canada for the French-Canadians and Upper Canada for the English-speaking people, giving each province what was supposed to be an exact counterpart of the British Constitution, namely:

1. A Governor, to represent the Crown;
2. An Executive Council appointed by the Crown, similar to the Privy Council;
3. A Legislative Council appointed by the Crown for life, similar to the House of Lords;
4. An elective Assembly, similar to the House of Commons.

To each Parliament was given the power of fixing

the laws for its own province, and thus the vexed question of French law or English law was settled, for in Upper Canada English law was at once established, while no change was made in Lower Canada, the people being well satisfied with the English criminal law as established by the Quebec Act.

One of the provisions of the Constitutional Act was that one-seventh of the public lands in each province was to be set aside for the support of the Protestant clergy. Bishop Strachan, the leading Episcopal clergyman of Upper Canada, used his influence for many years to exclude all other denominations from any share in these lands, known as the Clergy Reserves. This policy aroused much bitter feeling, and was one of the causes of the Rebellion of 1837.

The small English-speaking population of Lower Canada were far from satisfied with the division of the provinces. They feared that they would have little influence in the Assembly when separated from their kinsfolk in Upper Canada. For many years, however, they retained control of the Legislative Council, by means of the Governors' appointments—to the great dissatisfaction of the French-Canadian party.

The Act was a step in the direction of self-government, for the people, through the Assembly, had now a voice in the law-making and taxation. Yet the main power remained with the Governor. His consent was necessary to the passing of laws, and their enforcement was wholly in his hands. He was advised and assisted by an Executive Council appoint-

ed by the Crown, and quite independent of the Assembly. The nature of the government, therefore, still depended very largely upon the character of the Governor and of his Council, and during the next fifty years there were many bitter disputes between them and the people.

The War of 1812 stopped the political strife, and all parties joined loyally in the defence of the flag. The various invasions of Canada caused much suffering and loss of property, and to repel them the blood of the settlers was freely shed. Nor should be forgotten the self-denial and hardships of the women and children, who did the unaccustomed work at home that the men might be free to fight for their country. But as is often the case, loss was not without gain. Patriotic spirit was greatly strengthened by the glorious part that the Canadians took in a war that was unprovoked so far as they were concerned. For the first time the colonists of the various provinces thought of themselves as one people, as they stood shoulder to shoulder against a common foe.

After the War of 1812 was over there was a large immigration from the British Isles—owing to the serious condition of the labouring classes in the Old Country. The Home government provided, where necessary, free passage, farm implements, and a year's supplies. From 1826 to 1832 over 30,000 settlers a year are estimated to have emigrated to Upper Canada. Many of the newcomers were imbued with the Radical doctrines then so prevalent among the English middle and lower classes. The

political strife was renewed. The grievances of the people were much the same in all the provinces—that public affairs were managed with a total disregard of their wishes.

The people of Great Britain had already gained the political freedom which they now enjoy. They had control of law-making and taxation, because they elected the members of the Commons, and the leader of the party in the majority in the Commons became Prime Minister and the real head of the Executive Council, whose duty it was to enforce the laws and to expend the public money voted by Parliament. The other members of the Executive Council, or Cabinet, were chosen, with the king's approval, by the Prime Minister, from the members of his party in the Parliament. For their advice to the king, and for expenditure of public money and for all their public acts, the members of the Executive Council were responsible to Parliament. Should they lose the confidence of the majority of the party in power in the Commons, the king had to find other advisers who possessed it. The House of Commons could always compel the Cabinet to resign by refusing to grant it the ordinary supplies of money, and as there had to be an election for the Commons every few years, it is plain that the government could not long be carried on in a manner contrary to the wishes of the people.

But in Canada the members of the Executive Council were appointed by the Governor and held their positions for life. The Governor alone held the power shared in England by the king and the

Prime Minister, and was responsible only to the British government, whose ideas of Canadian affairs often differed from those of the Canadian people. When a new Governor arrived, he was not conversant with Canadian affairs and usually followed the advice of his Executive Council. From among their friends he chose the Legislative Council, judges, magistrates, and other officials. A strong party thus grew up—a social aristocracy and political ring, known as “The Family Compact”.

This Compact controlled the Governor, Executive Council, and Legislative Council, which latter could veto any Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly in return could not stop supplies, for the government had a fixed civil list—a revenue of its own from the sale of lands, etc., and the Imperial treasury to fall back on. The money raised by vote of the Assembly was spent on roads, bridges, and other public works, so if the supplies were stopped it was the people rather than the officials who suffered. For many years no account of the expenditure of public money could be obtained from the officials by the Assembly. The money of the people was often carelessly, and sometimes corruptly spent. Public lands were granted to the officials and their friends, or were sold to them at prices far below those required of others. The Compact filled the Bench, made judges removable at pleasure, and also allowed them to hold seats in Parliament. They also controlled the best positions in the law and the church, and they gave grants of public lands to themselves of as much as 5,000 acres each and 1,200 acres

to each of their children. They ran the banks, and at last shared among themselves almost all offices of trust and profit.

The only hope of obtaining redress of the people's grievances was through an appeal to the Colonial Office in London. It appears strange that the British government was not willing to extend to Canada the same measure of political power that the British people enjoyed at home. The Family Compact claimed a monopoly of loyalty and made representations to the Home government that if the Governor and his Executive Council were made responsible to the Provincial Parliament, each colony would be practically independent and would soon separate itself from the Mother Land. Those who sought a measure of freedom already enjoyed in Great Britain were denounced as rebels and traitors, looking for annexation with the United States. On the other hand, those who were opposed to the Family Compact asserted that if the people more largely controlled the government the cause of agitation would cease. It is much to be regretted that the British government did not see this in time to prevent an outbreak, not against the British Crown, but against the intolerable state of affairs created by the so-called Family Compact.

The opposition to the Family Compact in Upper Canada was composed of liberal-minded immigrants from the United States, Scottish Presbyterians, who generally stood for a free government, and a large number of men of culture and honour from England. They were known as the Reformers, and chief

among them was Robert Baldwin, a man of renown for integrity and wisdom. He fought for responsible government along constitutional lines with a perseverance that earned for him the reputation of being "a man with one idea". But his efforts in securing a university for the people and his advocacy of a municipal system mark his greatness in other directions. There was also an extreme and radical wing of the Reformers, composed of those who were imbued with the principles of responsible government—quick-tempered, hot-headed men who, smarting under ill-treatment, took more desperate measures for the redress of their grievances, among whom the leader was William Lyon Mackenzie. In the elections of 1824 the Reformers for the first time gained a majority in the Assembly. They carried their many proposals for the improvement of the government, only to have them defeated in the Legislative Council or vetoed by the Governor.

They relaxed their efforts, and the Family Compact gained control of the new House in 1830. Baldwin, Rolph, and other Reform leaders were defeated. Mackenzie retained his seat for York, but was accused of libel and expelled. Three times he was re-elected, only to be rejected by the Assembly. Such persecution tended to make him the popular hero, and the Reformers sent him to England with their petitions for changes. The election of 1834 was won by the Reformers, but the Family Compact was too strongly entrenched in power to be greatly affected. The Home government had recommended that the Assembly be given control of all public revenues,

except those derived from the sale of public lands and retained for the payment of judges, on condition that the salaries of the Lieutenant-Governor and other officials should be guaranteed. They had accepted the recommendation and had granted a permanent civil list, as the amount required for official salaries is called, so that the Council was independent of the Assembly. The Assembly prepared a document called the "Seventh Report on Grievances", in which the defects of the provincial government were very fully stated. The greatest stress was laid on the necessity of making the Executive responsible to the Assembly.

In Lower Canada the moderate Reformers were represented by LaFontaine, and the more radical element by Papineau and Nelson. In 1830 the Reform Assembly under Papineau—the uncrowned king of French-Canadian democracy—declined to accept the recommendation of the Home government to grant a permanent civil list, and refused to vote supplies. In 1834 their grievances were expressed in the famous "Ninety-two Resolutions" of the Assembly, which were carried to England by special agent. The reply to the "Seventh Report on Grievances" from Upper Canada, and to the "Ninety-two Resolutions" from Lower Canada was that no concessions could be made to the principle of responsible government, though reforms were promised on less important points.

Sir Francis Bond Head came out as Governor to Upper Canada in 1836. He gave seats in the Executive Council to three leading Reformers, but it soon

became evident that he had no intention of accepting their advice or of taking them into his confidence. They resigned, and the Governor filled their places with members of the Family Compact. The Assembly then refused to vote the ordinary supplies. Head dissolved it, and in the ensuing election took a most active part against the Reformers. He declared that the whole party was disloyal, and that a vote for a Reformer was a vote against Britain. The whole power of the government was unfairly and corruptly exerted, with a result that the Reformers were defeated. In Lower Canada, the Assembly had refused to vote supplies, until, in March, 1837, the unpaid salaries of the officials amounted to over \$700,000, and finally, under the influence of Papineau, actually refused to transact any business until their demands were granted. In that month the Home government passed an Act authorizing the Governor of Lower Canada to draw the amount from the Provincial treasury without a vote of the Assembly. The news of this Act caused great excitement throughout the province; Papineau, Nelson, and others denounced the British government and advised the people to resist its authority. Mackenzie and the extreme party in Upper Canada, embittered by injustice and defeat, joined hands with Papineau and began to plot a revolution.

How far the Rebellion of 1837 can be excused or justified is a question upon which every thoughtful person must form his own conclusions from a perusal and consideration of the history of the time. The question is a practical one, for no person admits

that rebellion against a regularly organized government is never justifiable. Every true lover of liberty will admit that a rebellion is necessary in certain circumstances. When a nation has not security for life and property, when the rights of a person are violated arbitrarily and unjustly by the powers that be, when men suffer sharp wrongs and their liberties are trampled on daily by the iron heel of oppression, when taxation is imposed without legislative representation, then rebellion is a virtue and not a crime. It is far preferable to die the death of a brave man than to live the life of a slave. Thus the Swiss rebellion against Austrian tyranny was justifiable, as was also that of the states of Holland. But there was a great difference between the condition of these countries prior to their rebellions and that of Canada. The latter had trial by jury, the law of Habeas Corpus protected personal rights, the levying of internal taxation was vested in the Assembly, and the political evils which existed must soon have disappeared before the pressure of constitutional agitation, the progress of national independence, and the increase of national population and wealth. It must be admitted that the imprudent conduct of Sir Francis Bond Head produced, in a great measure, the rebellious outbreak in Upper Canada. His injudicious administration created a large amount of political agitation. The absence of all military preparation to meet armed riots of any kind invited the rebellion of a small minority of unstable, disaffected persons such as always exist, even in the best-governed countries. Lord Durham

says: "It certainly appeared too much as if the rebellion had been purposely invited by the government, and the unfortunate men who took part in it drawn into a trap by those who subsequently inflicted so severe a punishment on them for their error."

Like all rebellions, that of Canada, though easily quelled, produced its harvest of disorder. It caused heavy expense to the country, checked its progress, aroused men's evil passions, and set neighbour against neighbour. If a revolution is a rebellion that succeeds, the Rebellion of 1837 was a revolution—as much so as the Revolution of 1688 in England. It opened the eyes of the Home government to the depth and extent of the discontent, and they sent out Lord Durham to report upon the political conditions. He was a strong supporter of the Liberals in the Old Country, and had taken a leading part in carrying the first Reform Bill. He was also clear-sighted, earnestly devoted to duty, and he was the first British statesman to arrive at a clear understanding of the real condition of the people. A more finished, instructive, and thoroughly fair report has never been made to the British government. It was a noble and far-sighted plea for autonomy and equality. He made independent researches for the facts and conditions upon which his report was formulated, and these agreed, with few exceptions, to the "Seventh Report on Grievances" prepared and presented to the Imperial Parliament by Mackenzie. Lord Durham recommended:

(1) The union of the Canadas so as to protect the English-speaking minority in the Lower Province,

and by giving the trade of Upper Canada free access to the sea, to end the disputes over the division of the import duties at Montreal;

(2) The granting of responsible government.

The author of this famous report did not long survive its appearance. His death was hastened by his faithful work in Canada and by the harsh criticism of his actions there. But his dying hope: "The Canadians will one day do justice to my memory", has been fully realized, and his Report is now regarded as the charter of our political liberties.

The English-speaking minority in Lower Canada favoured the union. The French-Canadians opposed it. In Upper Canada the Family Compact opposed it at first, but had to withdraw their opposition or lose their much-vaunted reputation for loyalty and devotion. The British Parliament passed the Act of Union in 1840, and it came into force in 1841. It provided that the government of the united provinces should consist of:

- (1) A Governor-General appointed by the Crown, and assisted by an Executive Council, the members of which were to be chosen from the Legislature;
- (2) A Legislative Council of at least twenty members, appointed by the Crown for life;
- (3) An Assembly of eighty-four members elected in equal numbers from each province for a term of four years.

Much larger powers were conferred on the new Legislature, either by the Act of 1840 or by democratic amendments made to it between 1840 and

1854. Under this new and beneficent régime the united provinces, led by Baldwin and Lafontaine, secured responsible government, and after the struggle of 1841-1849—a struggle for which Metcalfe, a Governor of the old school, was mainly responsible—no Executive Council, or Cabinet, could remain in office unless it had the support of the majority in the popularly elected Chamber of the Legislature.

Between 1847 and 1866 the united provinces several times exercised the right conferred on them by Parliament of amending the constitution of 1840. In 1854 the provinces were conceded the right to enter into reciprocity with the United States. In 1859 the Legislature of the united provinces successfully asserted the right to enact tariff legislation, without regard to the manufacturing and exporting interests of Great Britain. Between 1840 and 1867 experience demonstrated that the greater the freedom conceded to the colonies the more anxious they were to maintain and strengthen the links that bound them to the Mother Country.

After the union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada the members of the Assembly were loosely grouped in two parties:

(1) Conservatives—composed of those who were opposed to republican license and democracy, and who looked with horror on the rebellion and on every person or thing connected with it. They were divided into two classes:

(a) Representatives of the old lingering Tory prejudice;

(b) Representatives of the doubtfully accepted responsible government.

(2) Reformers—composed of those who were for liberal and progressive measures. They were divided into three classes:

(a) Representatives of mild constitutional reform;

(b) Representatives of reform expectations—sweeping ultra-measures;

(c) The French-Canadian representatives, who were opposed to the union and who were not represented in the Cabinet, though they held the balance of power in the Assembly.

In 1842, Governor Bagot introduced the first Reform leaders, Baldwin and LaFontaine, into the government. This action roused a storm of protest, and Bagot was fiercely assailed for his so-called surrender to rebels. This view was also taken in England by Peel and Lord John Russell, who were strongly opposed to the granting of autonomy to Canada, not being able to see that the Crown should govern through those in whom the people's Assembly had confidence. Bagot died soon after, and Governor Metcalfe was sent out to administer affairs on altogether different lines. He broke with his advisers in 1843 and governed for some months without a Ministry and without a Parliament. *The Globe* appeared at this time and strongly supported the rights of the people in the election of 1844, which Metcalfe said "was between loyalty on the one side and disaffection to Her Majesty's government on the other". Metcalfe's loyal government won, but

it was a barren and precarious victory, identifying, as it did, the line of political cleavage with that of racial division. Metcalfe died in 1846. Lord Elgin came out as Governor in 1847, and with his administration the new era of self-government began under Baldwin and LaFontaine, who won the elections early in 1848.

The Conservative Ministry of 1845 had recommended the payment of losses caused by the destruction of property during the rebellion. In Upper Canada the French-Canadian party voted for this on condition that steps should be taken to pay just losses in Lower Canada. The Ministry agreed. Commissioners were appointed and made their report, and the Conservative leader, feeling the necessity of French-Canadian support, introduced a Bill for payment. But the Bill was not put through, and at the elections in 1848 the Reformers were successful, and Baldwin, LaFontaine, Hincks, Price, Blake, Malcolm Cameron, Papineau, and Nelson were returned as members. In 1849 LaFontaine introduced a Bill to carry out what the Conservative Ministry had promised. This caused great excitement throughout the country from Montreal west. The Conservative watchword, in which some Reformers joined, was "no pay to rebels", and the old race war was on, hotter than ever. To escape from French domination, as it was termed, the more violent Tory members of the Conservative party declared that they were prepared to go any length, even to annexation with the United States, a measure which, in the passionate excitement of the time, was openly advo-

ated. Thus, parties who had long made boast of their loyalty to the British Crown and of their hatred of republican democracy were now supporting the same treasonable measures which many of their opponents had been accused of in 1837, and of whom a number had perished on the scaffold in 1838. It forms a mortifying epoch in the history of Canadian parties, and is evidence that a political party should be careful not to attempt to monopolize the British flag nor to accuse its opponents of disloyal motives. The Ministry, sustained by a majority of both Houses, put the Bill through. It was signed by the Governor, and his conduct was approved by the Home government. The passage of the Bill was the condition of the support of the French-Canadian members. Had it been abandoned it would have shown moral cowardice on the part of the Ministry, and, moreover, would have led to their defeat.

There was rioting in Upper Canada. Baldwin, Blake, and Mackenzie were burned in effigy; the houses of Rolph and George Brown were damaged. In Montreal the mob attacked the Assembly in session, drove out the members, demolished the furniture, and ended by setting fire to the Parliament Buildings and destroying property equal in value to the amount of the Rebellion Losses Bill. The next night the mob wrecked LaFontaine's house and burned his stables, smashed windows of Baldwin's and Campbell's boarding-houses, and also wrecked Hincks' printing office and damaged his house, as well as that of Nelson. Lafontaine's house was again attacked, and in the *melée* one man was killed.

The Governor-General, on several appearances, was greeted with showers of stones and other missiles. It was party feeling now venting its wrath in riotous fashion, because of the imaginary triumph of the rebellious foe that had been crushed in 1837.

The passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill marks the final triumph of political freedom in Canada. From this time may also be dated her commercial freedom. In 1846 Britain declared for open markets, and Canada lost her advantage in the British markets for certain of her products, and trade suffered in consequence. In 1849 the repeal of the Navigation Laws by Britain removed the last barrier to Canadian commerce with foreign nations, and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 increased the volume of trade between Canada and the United States six-fold in ten years.

Two vexed questions were still pressing for solution—the clergy reserves and the seigniorial tenure. The one contained the problem of church and state, the other the landed aristocracy against the unlanded democracy. On these the party of the Reformers could find no common ground for agreement.

Moreover, union in opposition is much easier than union in office, and it was natural, therefore, that, with the accession of the Reform party to power and the definite acceptance of the great principle which had held them together, differences of opinion which had been held in abeyance during the struggle should now appear. The Reformers were a party of progress, and it was natural that some of them should

aim at a more rapid rate of advance than others. In addition to this, the recent events in Europe—Chartism, the repeal of the Corn Laws movement in the British Isles, and the democratic revolutions on the continent—gave a strong impulse to the doctrines of radicalism and, at the same time, drove many people from the party of progress and directed them towards the party of conservatism and stability. Neither Baldwin nor LaFontaine had anything of the complexion of a radical, and, as against the moderation and temperate zeal of the chiefs, the haste and the unqualified doctrines of some of their followers now began to stand in rude contrast. William Lyon Mackenzie, Dr. John Rolph, McDougall, and Malcolm Cameron rose into influence under the name of Clear Grits. Their platform consisted of the following demands:

1. The application of the elective principle to all the officials and institutions of the country, from the head of the government downwards;
2. Universal suffrage;
3. Vote by ballot;
4. Biennial parliaments;
5. Abolition of property qualifications for Members of Parliament;
6. A fixed term for the holding of general elections and for the meeting of the Legislature;
7. Retrenchment;
8. Abolition of pensions to judges;
9. Abolition of the Courts of Common Pleas and Chancery, and enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench;

10. Reduction of lawyers' fees;
11. Free trade;
12. Direct taxation;
13. Amendment of the Jury Law;
14. Modification of the Usury Laws;
15. Abolition of Primogeniture;
16. Secularization of the Clergy Reserves and the abolition of the rectories.

The term "Grit" was afterwards applied to the Reformers generally, and especially to the followers of George Brown. But in the beginning Brown had little sympathy with the new party, and supported LaFontaine and Baldwin to the last.

At the same time in Lower Canada a radical party was formed, following the lead of Papineau, in opposition to LaFontaine. A group of Papineau's followers among the younger men, called the *Parti Rouge*, advocated a programme including universal suffrage, the repeal of the union with Upper Canada, the abolition of the church tithes, the election of the Upper House, while some of them openly advocated republicanism and annexation with the United States. In 1850 Papineau made common cause with MacNab and his party in voting against the government. To add to the difficulties, Brown of *The Globe*, commenced an outcry against Roman Catholicism and all its works. LaFontaine did not believe in the policy of secularization, while Hincks and Baldwin voted for it.

This difference of opinion did not strengthen the hold of the Ministers on their majority. In Lower Canada the Reformers wanted the Seigniorial Ten-

ure done away with, but some wanted the seigniories expropriated without compensation; others wished to see them expropriated with compensation; others favoured a voluntary arrangement, aided by legislation; and others, like Papineau (himself a seignior), wished to leave the question where it was. Matters dragged along till the end came in 1851. The Reform party had become too ponderous to be held together and broke of its own weight. The united strength of the Reformers, Radicals, Clear Grits, Independents, and *Parti Rouge* so outnumbered the Conservatives that, instead of uniting to outvote so small a minority, the leaders of the separate groups each set out to court new-alliances so as to convert his subordinate position into a dominant one in a new combination. Baldwin and LaFontaine resigned, and Hincks and Rolph became Reform leaders. Hincks was accused of partiality to the Roman Catholics, and of endeavouring to make personal gain out of debentures and lands, and a lot of Reformers went over to Brown. An election followed, in which the leading Reform papers were against the Ministry. Brown and Mackenzie aided the Conservative opposition, led by Sir Allan MacNab and John A. Macdonald. Brown defeated Malcolm Cameron in the election, and when the House was called together the extreme Reformers united with the Conservative Opposition and defeated George E. Cartier for the Speakership. Hincks resigned, and MacNab formed a coalition government, including John A. Macdonald, who was the real leader. Many supporters of the old administration went

into Opposition along with the extreme Reformers.

The Conservative party was now consolidated under MacNab and Morin, and was reinforced by a number of the Reform party, led by Hincks. The Opposition consisted of the remnant of the old moderate Reformers, led by John Sandfield Macdonald, the Rouges, or Liberal party of Lower Canada, under Dorion, and the extreme Reformers and Clear Grits under George Brown. This Ministry settled the Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial Tenure questions in 1854. The Legislative Council was made elective in 1856, though the system was relinquished later under Confederation. MacNab was succeeded by Taché for a short time; then John A. Macdonald became Premier and appealed to the country in 1858. The Reformers won in Upper Canada, but the Rouges were in the minority in Lower Canada. In order to carry on his government, Macdonald had to abandon the principle of "double majority", that is, a majority in both provinces, which had been followed since the union in 1840. By doing this he managed to rule by his Lower Canada majority, and gave the Reformers in Upper Canada cause for their outcry against French domination, and led George Brown and his friends to make a strong demand for "Rep. by Pop".

When the census of 1851 showed that the population of Upper Canada had surpassed that of Lower Canada the Reformers demanded an increased number of members. The French-Canadians opposed this, as it would place them in the minority in the union, and they pleaded, in support of their con-

tention, that the representation of Lower Canada had not been greater than that of Upper Canada during the years when its population had been much greater. The effect of this agitation was to give the Reformers a great majority in Upper Canada, but to make the Lower Canadians almost unanimous in support of the Conservatives. The choice of a capital was made so difficult by sectional jealousy that the government asked the Queen to decide, and in 1858 she named Ottawa. The members of rival cities were disappointed and united to carry a resolution in the Assembly disapproving of the choice. John A. Macdonald, with characteristic shrewdness, saw the advantage to be derived from this vote, and at once determined to resign. Thus he completely identified himself and his party with the Sovereign, and that Sovereign, too, a woman; and in becoming her defenders they were covered by the shadow of the public sympathy that encircled her.

Vexed with themselves that selfish motives had led them into a false position, the Conservatives who had voted for the measure took the first opportunity to redeem their reputation. Mr. Brown had been called upon to form a Government. He accepted, and among the members of his Ministry were John Sandfield Macdonald, Oliver Mowat, A. A. Dorion, and L. H. Holton. The House of Assembly, by a large vote, declared they had no confidence in Mr. Brown's new Cabinet. This adverse vote led Brown to demand a dissolution, but his Excellency, whose political leanings were quite evidently in another direction, declined to grant it. The Brown Cabinet had

no course left but to resign, which it did, after remaining in power for two days. The Governor then called upon Mr. Cartier, leader of the Lower Canada majority, to form a Cabinet, which, with the aid of John A. Macdonald, was speedily done. This Cabinet included John A. Macdonald, Cartier, Alexander T. Galt, and others. Taking advantage of a provision in the statutes of 1857 that where a member of a Cabinet resigned his office, and within one month afterwards accepted another office in the government, he should not thereby vacate his seat, the Ministers, by a simple changing of positions, complied with the law and did not go back for re-election. The courts upheld the Cabinet, but the provision in the Act, which should never have been enacted, was soon afterwards repealed. This "double shuffle", as it was termed, did much to intensify the feeling between the parties. The census of 1861 showed a difference of 300,000 in population in favour of Upper Canada, and the cry for representation by population—"Rep by Pop"—grew louder than ever. Parties became so evenly balanced that a change of a few votes in the Assembly meant a change of government. Thus, in three years four Ministries had been defeated, and two general elections had failed to ease the strain.

Under such conditions Ministers spent their energies in efforts to strengthen their political positions. Corruption flourished, and public business was at a standstill. Repeated changes of Cabinets had been tried, dissolutions of Parliament had been resorted to, every constitutional specific had been tested, but

all alike had failed to unravel the Gordian knot which party spirit had tied so firmly around the destinies of the country. The public stood aghast at this state of affairs, while lovers of British constitutional government regarded the situation with dismay. The Act of Union had already fulfilled its mission, and from the progress of the country had arisen a condition of affairs which imperatively pointed to a fresh constitutional revolution as the only solution of the difficulties that surrounded it. To the political embarrassments were added financial difficulties largely connected with the Grand Trunk Railway. Faced with complications so various, the leading minds of the country, weary of factional strife, applied themselves to discover some mode of escape from the dangerous difficulties of the public situation. Canadian statesmen now showed that in their country's need they could waive their political and personal differences and seek in a higher and wider sphere of action the solution of the national problems, which under existing conditions had proved hopeless. The result was a triumph for the "joint authority" scheme of George Brown, which had been voted down, opposed, and ridiculed by friend and foe alike.

Negotiations were opened between the rival leaders, and an understanding was soon reached, based upon a project of federal union of the two Canadas, with provisions for the admission of the other provinces and of the Hudson Bay Territories. A coalition government, in which George Brown, William McDougall, and Oliver Mowat were given seats,

was formed to carry out this policy of Confederation and to open negotiations with the other provinces for a larger union.

Meanwhile the struggle for reform in the Maritime Provinces was waged without that bitterness of race and creed that marked the contest in the Canadas. Joseph Howe became the leader of the Reformers of Nova Scotia in 1836, and after a prolonged fight against the interests of the select few who held the ruling power, secured responsible government in 1848. L. A. Wilmot, the popular champion of the Reformers in New Brunswick, won the victory for his province in the same year, while Prince Edward Island gained the much coveted boon in 1851. Nor had the inhabitants of those provinces such serious difficulties in the conduct of their public affairs as had been met in the united provinces, where conflicting French and English nationalities had produced many vexed questions for solution. Efforts had been made in Prince Edward Island to remedy the evils of the defective system of land tenure, while in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia the chief concerns of the public men of the time had been the securing of adequate railway accommodation, the extension of trade and commerce, and the development of systems of public and high school education.

The union of the different British colonies was not a new idea. It was advocated as early as 1790; the War of 1812 brought a startling realization of the isolated and dangerous position of the divided provinces; Lord Durham's Report referred to the advan-

tages which would accrue from a union of the colonies into a single state; the British-American League, founded in 1849, adopted Confederation as one of its main objects; the Legislature of Nova Scotia passed a resolution favouring union of the British provinces in 1854; and the Canadian government sent Cartier, Galt, and Rose to England in 1858 to urge the matter on the Imperial authorities. In 1861, on motion of Joseph Howe, a resolution was carried in the Nova Scotia Legislature requesting the Colonial Secretary to open communication with the different provincial governments upon the subject of union. The reply to the request was in effect that it was a matter for the colonies to take up among themselves. In process of time, to the slow-growing national instinct, which was the fundamental cause of Confederation, were added many practical influences which hastened its accomplishment. In the Maritime Provinces the obvious disadvantages of the existing disunited system, hostile provincial tariffs, independent telegraph and postal systems, different currencies, and divergent civil and criminal laws were arguments for union and harmony locally, while the experience of endeavouring to build a railway from Halifax to Quebec had shown the impracticability attending railway construction through provinces with different and changing policies.

To the local conditions already noted must be added the danger to all the British colonies of war between Great Britain and the United States, the deadlock in the Canadian Parliament, the unrest

caused by the Fenian raids, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, and the threatened withdrawal by the United States of bonding privileges. Moreover, the possibilities of the great North-West had been growing on the minds of Canadian statesmen, who saw a future nation in the vast British territorial possessions. Joseph Howe, speaking at Halifax as early as 1851, said: "I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the passes of the Rocky Mountains, and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days."

Direct action was taken in 1864, when Dr. Tupper introduced a series of resolutions in the Nova Scotia Legislature providing for a union of the Maritime Provinces. Delegates were appointed by the governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island to meet for the discussion of a legislative union among themselves at Charlottetown in September, 1864.

The Canadian coalition government sent delegates to this conference, and after hearing these representatives the larger scheme of union appears to have met with strong approval, and the conference adjourned with the understanding that delegates from all the provinces should convene at Quebec in October. On October 10th, 1864, thirty-three delegates from all the provinces, including Newfoundland, assembled at Quebec, and after eighteen days of deliberation with closed doors, "The Quebec Scheme" of union was finally agreed upon. It was to be kept secret until it should be

submitted to the various provincial Legislatures for their approval. But knowledge of the principal terms leaked out, and the people were soon eagerly discussing it. In 1865 the Canadian Parliament approved of the scheme by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three on a motion asking for an Imperial measure of confederation. But strong opposition developed in the eastern provinces—Prince Edward Island rejected the scheme; Newfoundland refused even to discuss it; an election in New Brunswick returned a hostile majority, and Tilley had to carry on a vigorous educational campaign in order to reverse the result in another election in 1866. In Nova Scotia Howe contended that an election should be held before the province was finally committed, but the union was approved by an Assembly that, as the next election showed, did not truly represent the opinion of the province on the question. Nova Scotia was thus practically forced into Confederation. Howe made strenuous efforts to free his province from the union. In this he was successfully opposed by Tupper, and though the province afterwards received “better terms”, and Howe joined the Dominion government, the original compulsion long left a feeling of bitterness behind it.

It is worthy of note that about this time a Bill was introduced into the United States Congress and was passed through two readings, providing for the admission of British North America into the American Union as four separate states, with the assumption of its public debt by the general government. It failed in its object for the simple rea-

son that the Canadians had no desire for annexation. They looked upon the Bill as an unwarranted interference with the affairs of an independent country.

Meanwhile, all the preliminaries having been arranged, delegates from the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick (Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland having decided not to come in) met in London on December 4th, 1866, to arrange the final terms of the Act to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. On February 28th, the British North America Act, 1867, received the royal assent, and July 1st, 1867, was fixed as the day on which the Dominion of Canada should commence its existence.

The British North America Act—the written constitution of Canada—was so comprehensive in its scope that in the fifty years since it was passed the Dominion has asked for or assumed only four or five powers that it could not exercise under the original Act.

Sections Ninety-one and Ninety-two of the Act deal with the division of legislative power between the Dominion on the one hand and the provinces on the other. The Dominion is vested with the sovereign power of the state, that is, to “make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada” in relation to all matters not assigned to the provinces; and for greater certainty a list of subjects is enumerated in Section Ninety-one over which the Dominion government has control, while Section Ninety-two specifies the subjects delegated to the

provinces. Section Ninety-five provides for concurrent powers of legislation in relation to two subjects only—agriculture and immigration, but it has been found in practice that subjects which in one aspect and for one purpose fall within provincial jurisdiction, may in another aspect and for another purpose fall within Dominion jurisdiction, so that the existence of concurrent authorities on such subjects must be admitted, and the jurisdiction settled by the proper judicial tribunal. The enactments of the Parliament of Canada, in so far as they are within its competency, override provincial legislation, but within the accepted limits and area described by Section Ninety-two the provincial legislature is supreme, and represents the “omnipotence of Parliament” as fully as the Parliament of Canada and the Imperial Parliament do in their respective spheres.

The Act provides that Canada shall be a bi-lingual country in federal affairs, but in the provinces, other than in Quebec, the language to be used officially shall be within the control of the provinces, and that the provinces “may exclusively make laws in relation to education”, provided any such law does not “prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have *by law* in the province at the time of the union”. If legislation is enacted by the provinces in respect to such schools there lies an appeal to the Governor-General in Council, and the Parliament of Canada may enact such remedial legislation as the circumstances of each case may require.

When in 1905 the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were organized, the Dominion government proposed to give denominational schools in those provinces a position similar to that which they possess in Ontario and Quebec. The proposal was strenuously opposed, and finally a compromise was arrived at by which the provisions in force under the Ordinances in the North-West Territories at the time (Caps. 29 and 30 of the Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901) should be continued. These provisions are to the effect that the minority of the ratepayers in any district, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish a separate school therein; and in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof. The board, after the establishment of a separate school district, shall possess and exercise all rights, powers, privileges, and be subject to the same liabilities and method of government as is provided in respect of public school districts. Any school board may direct that the school be opened by the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, and that such religious instruction as shall be permitted or desired by the board may be given during the last half-hour before closing, from which instruction any child may be excused upon the request of the parent or guardian.

The B. N. A. Act further provides that the four provinces shall be federally united, with provisions for additions, "with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom".

This recital establishes a basis for the working out and settlement of many matters upon which the Act itself is silent, and gives a valid foundation for the claim that the Act is the written constitution of Canada, as it clearly provides for the conduct of affairs in accordance with the principles of the British constitution.

For example, Section Fifty-five apparently gives the Governor-General discretion to assent to a Bill, to withhold assent, or to reserve it, but under the British constitution, while the discretion of the sovereign is absolute in theory, yet in practice the sovereign must act in accordance with the advice of the Privy Council. Following this principle, the Governor-General's discretion must be exercised in accordance with the advice of his Privy Council. While the Act secured this principle, it was not fully established in Canada until 1877.

In 1870 the Dominion obtained power to enact navigation laws, and in 1894 to make her own immigration laws, even when they excluded undesirables from the United Kingdom. At the time of Confederation the Dominion was obliged to recognize and conform to all commercial treaties made by Great Britain. Since 1898 the Dominion has been bound by no commercial treaty to which it has not given its assent and to which it is not a party, and since 1909 it has had the power of naming its own plenipotentiaries for the negotiation of commercial treaties—of acting in these matters like an independent state.

By the Constitution of 1867 certain classes of Bills passed by the Dominion Parliament were reserved for the royal assent to be given, not at Ottawa, but in London. To-day in practice no Bills are reserved, and the Dominion Parliament, in its legislative work, is no more apprehensive of the veto of the Crown than is the Parliament at Westminster.

Section Nine of the Act declares in effect that "the executive government and authority of and over Canada is vested in the sovereign". When the king appoints a Governor-General to act for him he can in theory give him instructions imposing such limitations and conditions as may be deemed expedient under the advice of the Privy Council. Thus the constitutional position of the Governor-General towards his ministers may be made very different from that of the king with respect to his ministers. For instance, the Commission issued in 1872 to Lord Dufferin gave him the absolute power to extend or to withhold a pardon or reprieve of an offender condemned to death, while the instructions accompanying the Commission laid down other limitations and conditions on different matters. In 1875 Lord Dufferin, under authority of his Commission, and acting on his own judgment, reprieved one Lepine, sentenced to death for the part he took in the North-West Rebellion. This case brought up the whole question of the responsibility of the ministers for the Governor's acts, and incidentally the constitutionality of instructions given the Governor-General by his Commission or otherwise, whereby ministerial responsibility was excluded. Blake went to

England and argued the question of the right of Canada to "a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom" with such success that the Commission and instructions to the Governor-General were redrafted, and since then the principle of "ministerial responsibility" has not been disputed, whether with regard to assenting to Bills, granting of pardons, or anything else. This same principle applies to the relations between the Lieutenant-Governors and their ministers, and the establishment of the principle of "ministerial responsibility" may be looked upon as the crowning triumph of responsible government and of democracy in Canada.

In the original Act the government at Ottawa had no veto on nominations to the high office of Governor-General, but to-day Ottawa has in practice a veto on undesirable nominations. While still closely connected with Great Britain by many strong ties, there is scarcely an attribute of independent nationality that the Dominion of Canada does not now possess.

At the first meeting of the Canadian Parliament after Confederation attention was turned towards the extension of the Dominion westward, and resolutions were introduced in favour of the immediate transfer to Canada of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories.

Early in 1869 a bargain was concluded with the Imperial authorities by which the Hudson's Bay Company gave up its trade monopoly and all its claims to government in consideration of \$1,500,000

in cash—an area of 50,000 acres around the various trading-posts retained by the company—and one-twentieth of the entire region in the fertile belt from Lake Winnipeg and Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and from the International Boundary to the North Saskatchewan River. This surrender left a vast territory open to settlement and to unhindered development and exploitation, and railway and other capitalists and their political friends hastened to reach out and grasp immense grants of land, coal mines, timber areas, and other resources.

In 1870 the District of Assinaboia became the Province of Manitoba. It is a matter for public regret, if not for condemnation, in which the government, the Hudson's Bay Company's officials, and the crafty agitator, Riel, must share, that, through lack of information and from the injudicious conduct of negotiations for the formation of the province, many of the settlers got the impression that they were going to lose their homesteads and to be otherwise deprived of their rights. The result was a deplorable outbreak of violence—the Riel Rebellion—which was easily quelled, but which left an uneasiness among the half-breeds of the West that Riel took advantage of to incite a second rebellion in Saskatchewan in 1885.

British Columbia was admitted to the Dominion in 1871, one of the terms of union being that the Dominion of Canada should commence within two years the construction of a railway to connect British Columbia with the older provinces, and should complete the work within ten years. The last spike to

connect the two sections of the Canadian Pacific Railway—built from the east and the west—was driven in 1885.

From 1870 to 1876 the North-West Territories were governed by Lieutenant-Governors, who were at the same time Lieutenant-Governors of the province of Manitoba. They exercised autocratic powers, limited at first by directions from the Secretary of State, and after 1873 from the Minister of the Interior. From 1877 to 1887 the government was conducted by a resident Lieutenant-Governor and a Council, nominative at first, afterwards partly elective. As the population grew, the increased number of elected members rendered possible the transition to a Legislative Assembly, in which the Lieutenant-Governor gave place to a Speaker, chosen by the members from among themselves. Differences between the Assembly and the Lieutenant-Governor developed into the old-time struggle to make the advisory council responsible to the Assembly. The Territories attained the complete form of responsible government in 1897, when provision was made for an Executive Council chosen from the members, each of whom, on acceptance of office, was forced to seek endorsement from his constituents by going back for re-election. During the whole period of the existence of the Territorial Government there were certain matters upon which the Assembly did not possess the competence to legislate. It was not permitted to charter railway or telegraph lines, to administer justice in criminal matters, to borrow money upon the sole credit of the Territories, to amend its own constitution, or to

establish hospitals, asylums, or other institutions, as the provinces did. The control of all the assets of the country—lands, minerals, and timber—were in the hands of the Dominion government, and the Assembly, not having any fixed subsidy, was compelled to depend practically altogether for its revenue on annual doles from the Dominion government. This state of affairs continued until 1905, when the two provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were organized and given the full privileges of self-government. The Dominion government, however, held, and still holds, control of the valuable natural resources of the two provinces. The organization of the prairie provinces completed the chain of Confederation from ocean to ocean, and realized the forecast of the far-seeing statesmen of fifty years ago—"an immense empire built up on our part of the North American continent, where the folds of the British flag will float in triumph over a people possessing freedom, happiness, and prosperity".

The vast, sparsely-settled hinterland of the three prairie provinces, rich in fur-bearing animals, fish, and minerals, is still under the control of the Dominion government, while, to the north of British Columbia, the Yukon Territory has a provisional government almost similar to that of the old North-West Territories.

Canada may well be proud of her attainment of democratic, sovereign independence, but the citizens must remember that eternal vigilance is the price of safety, and that the tendency on the part of the governments in power to usurp the authority that a

free people alone should exercise, if allowed to go unchecked, may lead to autocratic domination. The fact that legislation is promulgated under the guise of war or emergency measures, thus appealing to the sentiment of the people, renders caution all the more necessary. Out of Rousseau's gospel of Liberty grew Napoleon's gospel of Despotism, and out of the situation created by those who preached the rights of man emerged a despot, who trampled alike on the rights of man and nations.

Events of recent occurrence in the Dominion show that much remains to be done before true national unity is achieved. Our population is composed of diverse racial elements, and therein lies a problem that the talents of the leading statesmen of the present day have only rendered more difficult of solution. If the great questions of racial amity are to be satisfactorily solved in Canada, there can be no place for petty animosities, racial and religious prejudices, nor yet for bitter controversy. Unless our readers, of whatever nationality, are actuated in thought and conduct by a spirit of tolerance and good-will towards all classes and creeds, the Dominion of Canada can never rise to the level of her potential greatness.

1. Sketch briefly conditions in Canada at the time of the conquest of Canada. 2. When did Nova Scotia come under British rule, and what provisions had been made for its government? 3. What province had the first Parliament in Canada, and when? 4. When was Prince Edward Island made a separate province? 5. What was the chief obstacle to the progress of this province? 6. When was New Brunswick made a separate province, and why? 7. Explain how the Legislatures of the Maritime Provinces of to-day are

the lineal descendants of their early General Assemblies. 8. Show how at one time the legislative department of the British Government was completely separated from the executive department. 9. What authority was supreme in each department? 10. How did the British Parliament secure control of the executive department of the Government? 11. What is meant by the "prerogatives of the Crown"? 12. To what work were the early Assemblies of the provinces intended to be confined? 13. What work was intended to be done by the Governor and his Council? 14. Show clearly why the Assembly in the early days was not able to control the Executive. 15. What is meant by the Family Compact, and who composed it? 16. State briefly the legislative power of the early Assemblies. 17. What restrictions were placed upon this authority? 18. In what way did the government of the early colonies fall short of the right of self-government? 19. Why was no Assembly called in the Province of Quebec between 1774 and 1791? 20. What causes led to the passing of the Constitutional Act, 1791? 21. What causes led to the passing of the Union Act, 1840? 22. What causes led to the passing of the British North America Act, 1867? 23. How was Quebec governed for eleven years after the Treaty of Paris? 24. What causes led to discontent among the French? 25. Show how the settlers in Canada from the New England States had brought with them ideas of self-government. 26. How did the American colonies get their Acts assented to by the Governor? 27. Why did Great Britain give the American colonies so much freedom prior to 1763, and the French-Canadians so many concessions in 1774? 28. What were the chief provisions of the Quebec Act? 29. What was Chatham's objection to the Act? 30. How did the English-speaking colonists, and especially those from New England, regard the Quebec Act? 31. What caused the American Revolution? 32. Were the colonists in the right? 33. Who was to blame for the war? 34. What parts of Canada were settled by Loyalists after the American Revolution? 35. What was the grievance of those who settled in what was still known as Quebec? 36. What caused the French now to favour an elective Assembly? 37. What advantages were gained by each province

by the division of 1791? 38. Give the chief provisions of the Constitutional Act. 39. Show how, while the people of Upper and Lower Canada now had an Assembly, they still lacked self-governing power. 40. What were the effects of the War of 1812 on Canada? 41. What was the cause of the large immigration to Canada about the time of the first Reform Bill in England? 42. What effect had the opinions of these settlers upon the questions of the day? 43. What was the leading public question of the time? 44. Show how the people of Great Britain had already obtained what the Canadians were striving for. 45. Show clearly the reasons why Canada did not have responsible government at this time. 46. Why could not the Assembly control the Governor and Executive Council by stopping supplies? 47. What is meant by a "fixed civil list?" 48. State the limit to which the powers of the Family Compact were extended in public affairs. 49. What was the only avenue through which the people could get redress? 50. Explain why the British government was not willing to extend to Canada the same measure of political power that the British people then enjoyed at home. 51. What representations were made by the Family Compact to the Home Government? 52. What representations were made by those who sought self-government? 53. Of whom was the opposition to the Family Compact in Upper Canada made up, what were they called, and who was their leader? 54. Sketch briefly the life of Robert Baldwin. 55. Who led the extreme wing of the Reformers? 56. What happened when the Reformers won the election in 1824? 57. Trace the career of William Lyon Mackenzie. 58. Show how the Reformers while in the majority in the Assembly could not dislodge the Family Compact. 59. What is meant by the Seventh Report on Grievances? 60. What was the chief grievance? 61. Who led the moderate Reformers in Lower Canada? 62. Who were the leaders of the more radical element? 63. Show how the Reformers of Lower Canada who refused to grant a civil list and to vote supplies were no better off than the Reformers of Upper Canada. 64. Explain what is meant by the Ninety-two Resolutions of the Assembly. 65. What reply was given by the Home government to the Seventh Report on Grievances from Upper Canada, and the

Ninety-two Resolutions from Lower Canada? 66. Explain briefly what took place under the governorship of Sir Francis Bond Head. 67. What action of the Home government in Lower Canada precipitated the political crisis? 68. Could the Rebellion of 1837 have been prevented, and if so, how? 69. What was Lord Durham's opinion as given in his Report? 70. In what way did the Rebellion prove a success? 71. Sketch briefly the life of Lord Durham. 72. How did his Report compare with the Seventh Report on Grievances prepared by Mackenzie? 73. What did Lord Durham recommend? 74. What were the chief terms of the Act of Union of 1840? 75. Show how the people now had responsible government. 76. When was it decided that no Executive Council, or Cabinet, could remain in office in Canada unless it had the support of the majority of the Legislature? 77. Mention some of the amendments made to the Constitution between 1840 and 1866. 78. Explain briefly the grouping of the political parties after the union of 1840. 79. When were French leaders first recognized by the Governor? 80. How was this recognition regarded in Canada and in England? 81. What was the attitude of Governor Metcalfe towards the French leaders? 82. How did this Governor carry on the government for some time after Baldwin and LaFontaine resigned? 83. What was the issue in the elections of 1844. 84. What great Canadian first entered Parliament at this time? 85. What regretful results were obtained? 86. When did *The Globe* first appear? 87. Under what Governor, and when, did responsible government reappear? 88. Explain briefly the trouble caused by the payment for property destroyed during the Rebellion. 89. Name two vexed questions pressing for solution, and their effect on the Reform party. 90. What causes led to the realignment of political parties at this time? 91. Who were the Clear Grits, and what was their platform? 92. What causes led to the breaking up of the Reform party? 93. What is meant by the "double majority"? 94. How did the abandoning of this principle lead to the demand by George Brown and the Reformers for "Rep. by Pop"? 95. What effect had this demand on the Reform party in Upper Canada; in Lower Canada? 96. Explain briefly the trouble over the choice of a Cana-

dian capital, and of how it led to the defeat of John A. Macdonald's government. 97. Name some of the members of George Brown's Cabinet, and explain why it remained in power only two days. 98. What is meant by the "double shuffle"? 99. Name some of the conditions that forced the leading minds of the country to seek some new scheme for the solution of the pressing national problems. 100. What is meant by the "joint authority" advocated by George Brown? 101. For what purpose was the coalition government formed? 102. Who were the three Reformers in it? 103. Why was responsible government more easily secured in the Maritime Provinces than in Canada? 104. What were some of the leading public questions in the Maritime Provinces prior to that of Confederation? 105. What steps had been taken towards a union of the British colonies prior to the Charlottetown Convention, and by whom? 106. What local conditions, and what general conditions favoured Confederation? 107. Trace the steps leading up to Confederation from the time of the Charlottetown Convention to the passing of the B. N. A. Act. 108. Discuss briefly the powers contained in sections ninety-one, ninety-two, and ninety-five of the B. N. A. Act. 109. In case of a dispute between the Dominion and a province as to jurisdiction, by whom is the question decided? 110. Explain briefly the provisions of the B. N. A. Act regarding the language to be used officially in the Dominion and in the provinces. 111. What Act governs the formation of denominational schools in each of the provinces, and under what conditions may such schools be established? 112. Explain briefly some of the advantages derived from having the words "with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom" in the B. N. A. Act. 113. Enumerate some of the changes that have been made in the B. N. A. Act since Confederation. 114. When and under what conditions were Manitoba, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta admitted to Confederation? 115. Mention some of the dangers to democracy arising out of the conduct of the present war. 116. How can true national unity be brought about in Canada?

APPENDIX

FIVE PERIODS OF ENGLISH HISTORY AND LEADING CONSTITUTIONAL FEATURE OF EACH

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|----|---|---|--|
| 1. | Early times
to
Magna Carta | } | Constitutional growth |
| | | | |
| 2. | Magna Carta
to
Model Parliament | } | Development of elements of
the Modern Parliament |
| | | | |
| 3. | Model Parliament
to
House of Stuart | } | The absolute power of the
Sovereign |
| | | | |
| 4. | House of Stuart
to
Revolution, 1688 | } | The final conflict between the
Crown and Parliament |
| | | | |
| 5. | Revolution, 1688
to
Present time | } | Development of Responsible
and Representative Govern-
ment |
| | | | |

THE FIRST PERIOD

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|--|---|---|--|--|--------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|----------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|--|------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--|
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| | 2. Anglo-Saxon system of Government | { <table border="0"> <tr> <td>1. The king</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Witan</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Local Government</td> </tr> </table> | 1. The king | 2. Witan | 3. Local Government | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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| 3. Local Government | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Early times to Magna Carta | 3. Influences affecting Anglo-Saxon system | { <table border="0"> <tr> <td>1. Celtic</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Roman</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Saxon environment</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Norman Conquest</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Feudal System</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Church</td> </tr> </table> | 1. Celtic | 2. Roman | 3. Saxon environment | 4. Norman Conquest | 5. Feudal System | 6. Church | | | | | | | | | | |
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THE SECOND PERIOD

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|--|---|--|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---|--|
| 2. Magna Carta to Model Parliament | { <table border="0"> <tr> <td>1. Henry III vassal to the Pope—Church and Norman power greatly increased</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Clergy degenerates—division into Anglo-Saxon—democratic—supporting the people, and Norman—aristocratic—supporting the Crown</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. The work of Simon de Montfort</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. The reforms of Edward I</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Representatives of whole nation called to the Model Parliament</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. English Constitution placed on present basis.</td> </tr> </table> | 1. Henry III vassal to the Pope—Church and Norman power greatly increased | 2. Clergy degenerates—division into Anglo-Saxon—democratic—supporting the people, and Norman—aristocratic—supporting the Crown | 3. The work of Simon de Montfort | 4. The reforms of Edward I | 5. Representatives of whole nation called to the Model Parliament | 6. English Constitution placed on present basis. |
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THE THIRD PERIOD

1. Edward II ignored the Commons—ruled by favourites
2. Independence of Scotland
3. Edward III—Black Death, and its results
4. Aristocratic rule—but people restless
5. Lords and Commons separate
6. English displaces French in Courts
7. Wycliffe, Chaucer, and Langland—the dawn of national greatness
8. Wars of the Roses—weakness—anarchy—aristocratic force killed itself out

Model
Parlia-
ment
3. to
House of
Stuart

9. The abso-
lute
Tudors

1. Parliament gaining strength
2. How Tudors raised money
3. Illegal Courts
4. The Reformation

5. Great events of
the period

1. Discovery of gun-
powder
2. Invention of print-
ing
3. Invention of
mariners' com-
pass
4. Stoppage of trade
routes to the
East by the
Turks
5. Discoveries of
Marco Polo,
DaGama, and
Columbus
6. Improvement of
agriculture
7. Development of
fisheries and
coast trade
8. Rise of manufac-
tures—linen, silk,
woollen and iron
9. Revival of learn-
ing

THE FOURTH PERIOD

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|--|---|--|
| 4. House of Stuart to Revolution, 1688 | { | 1. Struggle between Crown and Parliament—between Norman and Anglo-Saxon—between despotism and popular rights
2. James and the Divine Right of Kings
3. James and taxation
4. Charles and the Parliament
5. The Nonconformists and
(1) The Presbyterians and the Parliament
(2) The Puritans and the Army
6. The rule of Cromwell
7. Charles II and the Parliament
8. Whigs and Tories
9. James II and the Parliament
10. Revolution of 1688 |
|--|---|--|

THE FIFTH PERIOD

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 5. Revolution, 1688 to Present Time | { | 1. Declaration of Rights
2. Act of Settlement
3. Peerage Bill defeated
4. Stamp Act
5. Catholic Emancipation Act
6. First Reform Act
7. Second Reform Act
8. Ballot Act
9. Third Reform Act
10. Parliament Act, 1911 |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|

IMPORTANT FACTS AND NAMES IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

Five Great Constitutional Acts:

- (1) Magna Carta;
- (2) Provisions of Oxford—practically abolished the monarchy, and put the government in the hands of the greater Barons—set aside by Mise of Amiens;
- (3) Petition of Right—protected the liberty of the subject;
- (4) Bill of Rights—
 - (1) In opposition to the doctrine that the Crown was a piece of real property which

could never be without an owner, it declared the throne vacant;

(2) In opposition to the doctrine that the succession to the throne was a matter of Divine right, it regulated the succession;

(3) In opposition to the doctrine of passive obedience, it affixed conditions to the tenure of the Crown.

(5) Act of Settlement—

(1) Declared royal pardon invalid in case of impeachment;

(2) Provided for the independence of the judges;

(3) Provided that Parliament should not be packed with government employees.

Five Stages of Development of Parliament:

(1) The Witan—the Anglo-Saxon National Assembly;

(2) The National Council—the Norman National Assembly;

(3) Parliament—name given National Council in 1246;

(4) House of Lords

(5) House of Commons { Parliament divided into
two separate houses in
the reign of Edward III.

Five Stages of Development of the Cabinet:

(1) The King's Council—Anglo-Saxon—the king chose officers of the household;

(2) The King's Council—a continuing Council chosen by the Norman Kings from the great nobles;

(3) The Privy Council—the powers of the King's Council very much increased and name of Privy Council given in the reign of Henry VI;

(4) Privy Council divided—

The Cabinet—Edward VI put Commoners in the Privy Council—it became too large—Charles II chose a smaller number as a Cabinet—it was called the “Cabal”—Cabinet separate from Privy Council in Anne’s reign—Ministry brought to coincide with the Cabinet in reign of William III.

The Courts—Star Chamber—Council of the North—High Commission Court;

(5) Prime Minister—Walpole exercised many of the powers of—Pitt in 1803 asserted the principle “of an avowed Minister possessing the chief weight in the Council”, and his view has gradually prevailed.

Five Prime Ministers who were Master-Makers of Modern Great Britain:

- (1) Walpole—gave peaceful consolidation to the country;
- (2) William Pitt—gave colonial possessions;
- (3) Peel—gave cheap bread;
- (4) Earl Grey—gave extension of franchise;
- (5) Gladstone—gave further extension of franchise and tried to secure Home Rule for Ireland.

Five Great Master-Makers who were not Prime Ministers:

- (1) Cromwell—rights of Parliament;
- (2) Burke—constitutional rights;
- (3) Fox—rights of the people;
- (4) Bright—peace and a free church;
- (5) Cobden—freedom of trade.

Five Inventors—Master-Makers of Great Britain:

- (1) Hargreaves—Cotton weaving;
- (2) Roebuck—Blast furnace;
- (3) Brindley—Canals;

- (4) Watt—Steam engine;
- (5) Stevenson—Railroad.

Five Reformers—Master-Makers of Great Britain:

- (1) Hill—Penny post;
- (2) Wilberforce—Abolition of slavery;
- (3) Howard—Prison reform;
- (4) Raikes—Sunday schools;
- (5) Tull—Reforms in agriculture.

Five Poets who Wrote in Freedom's Cause:

- (1) Shakespeare;
- (2) Milton;
- (3) Byron;
- (4) Burns;
- (5) Wordsworth.

Five Divisions of Protestantism:

- (1) Lutheranism;
- (2) Anglicanism;
- (3) Calvinism } Presbyterianism
 } Puritanism
- (4) Arminianism;
- (5) Latitudinarianism, or Universalism.

Five Organizations for Curing the Evils of Society:

- (1) Nihilism;
- (2) Anarchism;
- (3) Syndicalism;
- (4) Socialism;
- (5) Communism.

CHIEF EVENTS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

- 1066—Norman Conquest.
- 1100—Henry I—Charter of Liberties.
- 1164—Council of Clarendon—Assize of Clarendon.
- 1215—John—Great Charter.
- 1295—Model Parliament.
- 1486—Star Chamber Court.

- 1523—Commons resist Wolsey's demand for grant.
1559—Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.
1601—Debate on Monopolies.
1628—Petition of Right.
1640—Long Parliament.
1641—Abolition of Star Chamber and non-parliamentary taxation.
1649—Execution of King Charles I.
1661—Corporation Act.
1679—Habeas Corpus Act.
1689—Declaration of Rights.
1694—Triennial Act.
1701—Act of Settlement.
1716—The Septennial Act.
1719—Peerage Bill defeated.
1765—Stamp Act.
1829—Catholic Emancipation Act.
1832—First Reform Act.
1838—Lord Durham's mission to Canada.
1840—Union of the Canadas.
1867—Second Reform Act—Confederation.
1872—Ballot Act.
1885—Third Reform Act.
1911—Parliament Act.

LIST OF PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1721—1742 | - | - | - | - | - | Sir Robert Walpole |
| 1742—1743 | - | - | - | - | - | Lord Wilmington |
| 1743—1754 | - | - | - | - | - | Henry Pelham |
| 1756—1757 | - | - | - | - | - | I. The Duke of Newcastle |
| 1754—1756 | - | - | - | - | - | Duke of Devonshire (real head, William Pitt, Secretary of State). |
| 1757—1762 | - | - | - | - | - | II. The Duke of Newcastle |
| 1762—1763 | - | - | - | - | - | The Earl of Bute |
| 1763—1765 | - | - | - | - | - | George Grenville |
| 1765—1766 | - | - | - | - | - | I. Marquis of Rockingham |
| 1766—1770 | - | - | - | - | - | The Duke of Grafton |
| 1770—1782 | - | - | - | - | - | Lord North |

1782—March-July	- - -	II. The Marquis of Rockingham.
1782—1783	- - - - -	The Earl of Shelburne
April-December, 1783	- -	Coalition Ministry (The Duke of Portland, nominal Prime Minister; real heads, Fox and North)
1783—1801	- - - - -	I. William Pitt the younger
1801—1804	- - - - -	Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth)
1804—1806	- - - - -	II. William Pitt
1806—1807	- - - - -	“All the Talents” (Lord Grenville and Fox, d. September, 1806)
1807—1809	- - - - -	II. The Duke of Portland
1809—1812	- - - - -	Spencer Percival
1812—1827	- - - - -	The Earl of Liverpool
April-August, 1827	- -	George Canning
1827—1828	- - - - -	Lord Goderich
1828—1830	- - - - -	The Duke of Wellington
1830—1834	- - - - -	Earl Grey
July-November, 1834	- -	I. Lord Melbourne
1834—1835	- - - - -	I. Sir Robert Peel
1835—1841	- - - - -	II. Lord Melbourne
1841—1846	- - - - -	II. Sir Robert Peel
1846—1852	- - - - -	I. Lord John Russell
February-December, 1852	-	I. Lord Derby
1852—1855	- - - - -	Lord Aberdeen
1855—1858	- - - - -	I. Lord Palmerston
1858—1859	- - - - -	II. Lord Derby
1859—1865	- - - - -	II. Lord Palmerston
1865—1866	- - - - -	II. Lord John Russell
1866—1868	- - - - -	III. Lord Derby
February-December, 1868	-	I. Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield)
1868—1874	- - - - -	I. William Ewart Gladstone
1874—1880	- - - - -	II. Disraeli
1880—1885	- - - - -	II. Gladstone
1885—1886	- - - - -	I. The Marquis of Salisbury
February-July, 1886	- -	III. Gladstone
1886—1892	- - - - -	II. Salisbury

1892—1894	- - - - -	IV. Gladstone
1894—1895	- - - - -	Lord Rosebery
1895—1902	- - - - -	III. Salisbury
1902—1905	- - - - -	Arthur Balfour
1905—1908	- - - - -	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman
1908—1916	- - - - -	Herbert Henry Asquith
1916—	- - - - -	David Lloyd George

A LIST OF HISTORICAL NOVELS COVERING THE IMPORTANT PERIODS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>
1066	Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings - - - -	Lord Lytton
1066	Hereward the Wake, Last of the English - - - -	Charles Kingsley
1187	The Betrothed - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1189	The Talisman - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1200	Ivanhoe - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1350	Long Will - - - -	Florence Converse
1400—	The Fair Maid of Perth -	Sir Walter Scott
1471—	The Last of the Barons -	Lord Lytton
1500	When Knighthood was in Flower - - - -	Charles Major
1500	The Sword of the Lord -	Joseph Hocking
1550—	The Prince and the Pauper	Mark Twain
1550	The Monastery - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1567	The Abbot - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1575	The Queen's Quair - - -	Maurice Hewlett
1575	Kenilworth - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1575	Westward Ho! - - - -	Charles Kingsley
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1641	In Spite of All - - - -	Edna Lyall
1641	To Right the Wrong - - -	Edna Lyall
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1651	Woodstock - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1662	For Faith and Freedom -	Sir Walter Besant
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1685	Micah Clarke - - - -	Sir A. Conan Doyle
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1695	The Bride of Lammermoor -	Sir Walter Scott

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1770	Guy Mannering - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1775	The Virginians - - - -	W. M. Thackeray
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1800	The Antiquary - - - -	Sir Walter Scott
1800	Adam Bede - - - - -	George Eliot
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1840	The Revolution in Tanner's Lane - - - - -	Wm. H. White
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